DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 107 753 UD 015 302

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TITLE A Survey of Research Concerns on Women's Issues.
INSTITUTION Association of American Colleges, Washington, D.C.
SPONS AGENCY National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE May 75
NOTE 48p.; Project on the Status and Education of Women; Eight pages of the "Bibliography" may not be clearly legible on reproduction due to the print size in the original document

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC-$1.95 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS Educational Problems; Employment Problems; Family Problems; *Females; *Feminism; Health Needs; Information Sources; *Research Needs; Research Problems; *Research Reviews (Publications); Sex Differences; Sex Discrimination; Socialization; *Womens Studies; Working Women

ABSTRACT

This paper addresses two major issues: (1) how research will affect social policy in areas of life that relate to women; and (2) what research questions can provide the information required to promote positive changes in social policy. It sketches a rough outline of the central questions within each major area, to indicate some of the work that has been done, and to suggest new directions that might be taken. This review of the current state of interest in research on women's issues grew out of a six-month study sponsored by the National Science Foundation. Several major metropolitan areas--Boston, New York, San Francisco, and Washington D.C. -- were visited. Among the major areas explored in this paper are: (1) the need for research/action programs; (2) the women's movement; (3) socialization and the educational system; (4) the world of work; (5) marital status and family; (6) health and life cycle issues; and, (7) other issues of practical concern to women. Also included is an appendix focusing on resources for research on women's issues. (Author/JM)

project on the status and education of **women**

A Survey of Research Concerns on Women's Issues

by

Arlene Kaplan Daniels

edited by Laura Kent

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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May 1975

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FOREWORD

Until recently, few researchers addressed "women's issues" in any systematic fashion. Although the number of studies about women has increased in the past several years, they are often under funded, sporadic and isolated from other relevant studies.

A major gap has been the absence of an overall view on how women's research issues relate to each other and to the status of women in society. This lack of perspective is both a cause and an effect of the sparse funding and somewhat disjointed nature of studies on women. We think Dr. Daniels' survey does a superb job of filling this void. She has pinpointed issues with significant implications for those who formulate educational and social policy, and for those who determine research priorities.

This publication is intended to serve as a guide and stimulus for those who want to undertake or fund research on women.

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PREFACE

This paper was prepared while I was Chief of the Center for the Study of Women in Society at Scientific Analysis Corporation in San Francisco, California. The study was supported by the RANN program (Research Applied to National Needs) of the National Science Foundation under Grant No. GL-37342. Additional funds were made available by NSF, under Purchase Order No. 74-SP0919, for preparing the manuscript and publishing the report. I am grateful to the Project on the Status and Education of Women of the Association of American Colleges for coordinating this latter aspect of the study.

I would especially like to thank Gladys Handy, project manager at NSF, for her inspiration and support. Thanks also go to Beverly Bogley, Noriko Bridges, Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, Janet Giele, Arlie Hoschschild, Sheryl Ruzek and Gaye Tuchman, all of whom helped with the early preparation of this paper. Special thanks go to Laura Kent, who edited the final manuscript and significantly expanded the sections on "College", "Graduate and Professional Training" and "Affirmative Action Issues in Educational Institutions" in Chapter IV.

This project was undertaken with two major questions in mind: (1) How will research affect social policy in areas of life that relate to women? and (2) What research questions can provide the information required to promote positive changes in social policy? The central focus of attention in each chapter is on conducting research with the ultimate aims of redressing inequity and furthering equality between the sexes.

Each attempt at breaching the inequality barrier creates a new situation for study. In addition, these attempts demonstrate that an action program in one area becomes a subject for theoretical research in another. Thus, "hard" scientists may express a practical concern with how to increase the number of women in the sciences; and this concern may then be translated into a research question for social scientists: What is the socialization which causes capable and intelligent women to reject (often quite early in their lives) even the possibility of a career in the sciences?

This review of the current state of interest in research on women's issues grew out of a six-month study sponsored by the National Science Foundation. I visited several major metropolitan areas (Boston, New York, San Francisco, Washington), where I talked with over a hundred interested people, most of them women. While some men have done outstanding work on women's issues, it does seem as though these issues—and the question of how to grapple with them—have been addressed most seriously by women. Additional interviews were conducted in the Midwest (especially the Chicago area), Southern California, and Arizona.

This review is neither comprehensive nor representative of all the ideas and concerns in the area of research on women's issues. Rather, it is suggestive: sketching a rough outline of the central questions within each major area, to indicate some of the work that has been done, and to suggest new directions that might be taken. It is hoped that this volume will be of particular value to prospective researchers as they consider topics to pursue. With that purpose in mind, the text includes the names of people currently interested in particular questions. The appendix is intended to help in the arduous task of keeping up with women's issues. The assumptions that underlie the discussion in the following pages are the same assumptions that underlie national policies to end sex discrimination. The laws and regulations prohibiting discrimination are predicated on the belief that sex discrimination is dysfunctional for the society at large as well as for each individual member, whether male or female.

The opinions expressed herein are those of the author and are not necessarily endorsed by the National Science Foundation or the Association of American Colleges.

Arlene Kaplan Daniels
May 1975

I. NEED FOR RESEARCH/ACTION PROGRAMS

Despite the ground swell of opinion within various granting agencies that women's issues should be given high priority in research, relatively little is being done to actualize this concern. At the federal level, there are no large allocations of funds for research projects devoted to women. In 1972, the private foundations gave $25,880,942 in grants directed primarily to women's organizations and issues, a figure that amounts to only 3.4 percent of the total amount (Knowles, 1973). Substantial and long-range financial support is essential if a concerted and integrated approach to research on women's issues is to be developed. The problem of encouraging larger and more stable programs of support is one that needs to be addressed.

Perhaps the biggest and most significant issue confronting women today is just how to choose the issues of greatest significance. To decide which problems have priority for research, women must learn more about the basic allocation of power in this country: in government, business, industry, and academia (Bernard, 1971b; Safilios-Rothschild, 1974). Only by becoming more knowledgeable about the power structure can women choose those research topics most useful in formulating and implementing social policy.

Some action programs which would facilitate research on women as well as have an impact on social policy include the following:

Women's Center

Women must have a national identity if they are to develop citizen-participation skills. A national or regional women's center is one way to achieve this goal. Such a center could serve a variety of functions, such as fostering career awareness, collecting and disseminating information, and providing a focal point for the formulation of policy on women's issues. A demonstration pilot project might prove the usefulness of this approach.

Speakers' Bureau

Except for metropolitan centers, such as Boston and Washington, most parts of the country are lacking in resources for women interested in continuing education, new careers, and other issues of concern to women. Therefore, a speakers' bureau—to disseminate information and provide consultation services to such "deprived" communities—is a vital adjunct to any type of women's center. Some organization is required to manage the funding and to develop such a bureau.

National Registry

Many professional women's organizations and women's committees or caucuses within the various disciplinary associations (e.g., American Library Association, Association of American Law Schools, National Association of Bank Women) have complied rosters of women or have established other regular channels for making referrals and providing employment information. In addition, The Ford Foundation has sponsored a project within the Office of Opportunities in Science of the American Association for the Advancement of Science to coordinate rosters of minority and women professionals. They also fund the Higher Education Resources Services (HERS) at Brown University and the University of Pennsylvania to help individual women and institutions by serving as a nationwide clearinghouse for faculty and administrative positions. But the work is just beginning. Not all professionally and technically trained women are covered by existing rosters. A National Registry would be useful to the women's center mentioned earlier, and could help a wide variety of organizations in recruitment and hiring. Questions that need to be addressed are: What kinds of information should be included in such a register? How should a data base be organized from this information? What is the most efficient accessing system? How do prospective employers learn about and use such registries? How

effective are registries in giving women access to administrative and management positions?

Women's Yearbook

Currently, no single source collects and publishes comprehensive information on various aspects of the women's movement. Such a document might aid the work of such agencies as the Women's Bureau (Department of Labor). Foundation or federal funds might be used to establish an institute to keep up with women's affairs and to issue an annual report.

Coverage in the Media

More than 2,000 women's groups have been organized over the last few years, most at the local level. Few of these, however, receive adequate attention from the news media. Charges of sex discrimination against local industries and educational institutions are often ignored. Job counseling and training for women, divorce counseling, legal aid, and other local resources for combatting discrimination are rarely mentioned. Thus, not only are women prevented from making use of available services but, more important, all citizens are deprived of an opportunity to understand the goals and accomplishments of the women's movement. What procedures can be developed whereby women's issues are assured local and national coverage? How can all the media—newspapers, radio, television—become more responsive to women's issues?

It is essential that research on women be increased so that policy makers at all levels are aware of the impact of their decisions on women.

II. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The women's movement is fortunate in having many articulate advocates who function both as participants and as observers and who, as they work toward specific feminist goals, can consider the more general issue of how to bring about social change that will benefit all human beings. (See Epstein and Goode, 1971; Freeman, 1973; Friedan, 1963; Huber, 1973; Millett, 1969; Reves, 1971; Rossi, 1973; Rossi and Calderwood, 1973; Roszak and Roszak, 1969; Stoll, 1973). Though relatively young, the women's movement already has its chroniclers and commentators (Carden, 1974; Chafe, 1972; Freeman, 1973; Polk, 1972) who have attempted to trace its origins, analyze its components, and relate it to the whole fabric of contemporary life.

The appearance of any social movement raises interesting questions for study. Those directly involved in working for women's rights and women's liberation are keenly aware of the research needed to make the movement as effective as possible. But beyond these partisan concerns, such research may reveal how social movements come into being, grow, flourish, divide, or disintegrate (Lipman-Blumen, 1973). In this section, then, the following topics will be considered: (1) the relation of the women's movement to other social movements; (2) its impact on various segments of the population; (3) law as an avenue for social change; (4) the mass media and social change; and (5) community action.

Relation to Other Social Movements

Most authorities agree that the civil rights movement prepared the way for the women's movement by directing attention to the indignities and inequities suffered by some segments of American society, arousing widespread concern for social justice, and schooling a generation in the uses of activism. Some impetus may also have come from the campus unrest, student rebellion, and antiwar sentiment of the 1960's. In addition, various political groups within both the old and the New Left have favored equality of the sexes as one of the features of a new and classless society.

We need to examine more closely the relation between these older movements and the present women's movement. To what extent have feminists learned lessons in ideology and strategy from them? To what extent does the women's movement represent a reaction to the treatment of women who worked, for example, in civil rights groups and in male-dominated groups of the

New Left (Thorne, 1972)? To what extent is the women's movement threatened by subversion or cooptation from, for example, the Socialist Workers' Party? What can the women's movement learn from the schisms and ultimate dissolution of the Students for a Democratic Society? Only careful examination of the empirical evidence can answer these questions and place the movement in proper perspective.

It would also be instructive to look more closely at the similarities and differences between the present women's movement and the women's rights movement of the last century, which culminated in the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1919 (Scott and Scott, 1974). A comparison of the backgrounds and characteristics of the leaders in each movement might help define the dimensions of the present movement.

Welfare rights organizations—and particularly efforts at reform led by welfare mothers themselves—might be studied as indicators of a rising social movement. As these groups coordinate their efforts and come together in a national organization, they demonstrate the growing unity and voice of an oppressed class of women. We need information on how such organizations develop and what problems they confront as well as their effects on society (Eddington, 1973; Haug and Sussman, 1969; Paull, 1967).

In addition, the connections between the women's movement and such contemporaneous developments as consumerism and environmentalism might be analyzed. To what extent is the rise of consumer advocacy, the revolt of clients against the bureaucracies that manipulate them, and the protest against the destruction of the environment attributable to the perception of woman as victim of a man-made society? To what extent are the objectives of these various groups complementary?

Impact on Various Segments of Society

The differential impact of the women's movement on various segments of the population should be investigated. For instance, there is some evidence that women in general have come to accept and espouse some basic tenets of the movement while at the same time rejecting the movement itself. What perception do most people have of the movement, and where do they get their image of it? Studies of attitude changes on such questions as women's place, appropriate jobs for women, and the "ideal" female might tell us a great deal about how the "radical" ideas of a particular social movement filter down through the population.

One sensitive area for investigation is the relation and reaction of minority women to the women's movement. Some writers have contended that the movement is primarily a product of the white upper-middle class and that many of its concerns are irrelevant to women who see the prime enemy as racism, not sexism. To what extent is this belief held by women from various racial/ethnic groups and at different socioeconomic and educational levels? (See U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1974a; Smith, 1972; Smythe, 1974; Stimpson, 1974.)

Related to the question of minority women is the question of lower-class and working-class women. Many of these women stay home and take care of their children and so may simply not be exposed to women's issues. Moreover, blue-collar women tend to be conservative in their attitudes. How do these women react to the women's movement? Are their beliefs and behavior affected in ways they may not realize?

A study of men's attitudes toward and responses to the women's movement is needed to assess its effect. Many men, of course, support the movement, but to what extent is this support verbal only? What are the characteristics of men who favor women's rights and women's liberation? Much of what has been written about the ways in which men feel threatened by the women's movement is based on unproven assumption and psychological speculation. Empirical data on the specific reactions of men to concrete situations in which women assert themselves would be helpful. We might also try to learn more about how men are constrained and limited by the masculine role and the degree to which they are aware of these constraints. Finally, we need to study the changing patterns of male-female relations. A careful selection of areas for investigation—and a theoretical justification for the choice—still remain to be made. Warren Farrell

(1974) and Joseph Pleck (1973) are studying some dimensions of male response to the movement toward sexual equality.

Some women have formed groups in direct and explicit opposition to the women's movement. For instance, one organization headed by Phyllis Shlafly (possibly supported by the John Birch Society) opposes the Equal Rights Amendment. Another conservative organization, Happiness of Womanhood (HOW) accepts most of the feminist assumptions about the present status of women but rejects the notion that there should be any change. Heather Booth (Midwest Academy, Chicago) is interested in certain aspects of volunteerism in the right wing. It is important to understand the countermovement in order to trace the political, economic, and social bases of both feminism and anti-feminism. (Decter, 1971, 1972; McCracken, forthcoming).

Law as an Avenue of Social Change

The problems clearly requiring legal action are also those that demand an alert constituency, for only when a vocal public actively supports litigation of a particular kind can the desired outcomes be effected. To this end, women must be informed of those inequities in law that most adversely affect them. Housewives in particular are often unaware of discriminatory laws until they actually suffer their consequences. For example, women should be considering how to abolish dower rights. Marguerite Rawalt, a noted Washington D.C. attorney, thinks it of primary importance to inform women about discrimination under state laws: for instance, in bank and mortgage payments. The process of education has to be accomplished state by state, because laws differ, though an overall pattern does exist.

Many feel that litigation is the best way to fight discrimination and that feminist lawyers should organize to attack the problem in a coordinated and incremental fashion. At a recent conference sponsored by The Ford Foundation, feminist lawyers met together to assign priorities and to formulate a plan of attack. In addition, two major women's rights organizations—the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) and the National Organization for Women (NOW)—have developed legal and educational funds to support litigation, and a small number of women's law firms in such major metropolitan areas as New York, Boston, Washington, and San Francisco have made sex discrimination the focus of their practice. All these groups urge interested parties to protest, bring pressure upon legislators, and initiate law suits.

But is litigation really the best way? Research is needed to show how effective this approach is in bringing about desired social change (Ross, 1974). For instance, longitudinal studies should be undertaken of the employment patterns of women in government agencies, large corporations, and academic institutions that have had discrimination suits brought against them. Did the outcome of the suit affect the subsequent treatment of women by that employer? How do adversary proceedings between employee and employer affect their subsequent relationship? What happens to the morale of the employee in such a situation?

The Mass Media and Social Change

The mass media function as educational supplements, as instruments of socialization. Often they perpetuate sex stereotypes and either ignore women's issues entirely or treat them flippantly. One way to correct these deficiencies is to place women in high level positions as managers, as editors, as on-the-air commentators. Often, the accomplishment of this goal may require filing charges against the media for underemployment of women (Cantor, 1973; Stanley, 1971).

Women in the media have become more aware of women's issues, as evidenced by their publication *Media Report to Women*. Nonetheless, more equitable employment of women does not guarantee that women's issues will be reported fully and fairly. Such organizations as NOW and the United Church of Christ have begun to monitor radio and television shows in order to collect information about the content of communications with an eye to bringing suit against stations that present sex-biased programs (NOW, 1973). For instance, these organizations are concerned about the treatment of news involving women under the fairness doctrine and about laxness in determining community needs. They have suggested, for example, that interviews with prominent women other

than the wives and daughters of famous men should be featured and that women's issues should be treated as serious news. Research is needed to determine what organizational principles best apply in the radio and television industries, as well as in publishing, to make both the reporting of women's issues and the employment of women more equitable.

At the same time, the "hidden" messages that come through the media should not be ignored. What images of women are suggested in, for example, dramatic series on television or short stories in magazines? Detailed content analyses and comparisons among specific shows or specific periodicals are necessary to understand this latent content (Ray, 1972).

If station executives and editors-in-chief can be reeducated, and if the need for changes in editorial and station policy can be demonstrated, the mass media could become potent forces for social change.

Community Action

Many issues relating to community action (e.g., child care, job counseling) have been discussed elsewhere in this report. Here the main focus is on how to document and assess the wide array of programs for women that already exist in many areas. Although efforts are being made to collect information about women's centers and their activities (Bertelsen, 1974; Project on the Status and Education of Women, 1974), no one has tried systematically to visit, observe, and evaluate these centers. Such questions as the following need to be answered: What aspects of the developing women's movement do particular action groups (such as the Chicago Women's Liberation Union or the Women's Action Alliance) focus upon? Are such groups formed out of general interest in women's issues, or do they represent responses to particular problems? What kinds of people do these groups come in contact with? How do they operate? How do they continue to exist over time? Such groups have neither the time nor the resources to engage in extensive self-study. Nonetheless, such information would be valuable to the women's movement as a whole.

III. CONSEQUENCES OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

One of the most significant consequences of the women's movement is its effect on the way we think about men as well as women. Individuals of both sexes may be freed from the tyranny of living up to unrealistic expectations and playing uncomfortable roles. For instance, if women demand—and get—opportunities for part-time employment, why should not men? Futurologists have long emphasized the need to revise our thinking about work; automation and other technological development may created a world where relatively few people must work and where vast numbers have extensive leisure time.

The women's movement—with its emphasis on flexible scheduling, the sharing of household tasks and child care, and the advantages of continuing or recurrent education—offers opportunities for new ways of thinking about how human beings spend their time.

In this section, we will consider two direct and specific consequences of the women's movement: the role that it has played in (1) expanding knowledge in established disciplines, and (2) encouraging investigation of previously overlooked areas of life.

Expanding Knowledge in Established Disciplines

Male domination of a discipline may demonstrably limit the substance of that discipline. An obvious example is history: traditional historians have tended to focus on major movements and catastropic events (wars) and on the contributions of men. Feminist historians have begun examining problems heretofore ignored (Lougee, 1974, forthcoming; Scott and Scott, 1974). As with history, so with philosophy. It is possible that men are absorbed with certain philosophical issues to the exclusion of others and that feminist philosophers could open up whole new areas of speculation and thought.

The social sciences offer examples of the limitations of male domination. In psychology, most empirical and experimental studies have dealt with men or (if female subjects were used) have ignored sex differences; consequently, the findings simply may not apply to women. Moreover, the whole theoretical basis

of the dominant schools of psychology have treated women as incomplete and neurotic versions of the male sex.

Economics is another discipline in which the problems examined are circumscribed by the sex (or sexist assumptions) of the investigator. For example, most studies on the effects of having children and participating in the labor force have concentrated on women and ignored possible effects on men. In addition, some economists argue that women deteriorate when they stay home and thus return to the work force debilitated. Clearly, research is needed to examine the validity of this argument.

Similarly, many influential sociologists have assumed that the differential sex roles of husbands and wives in the traditional nuclear family are "functional" and that any variation is "dysfunctional"; they express the view that women must stay at home if they want their children to mature successfully. Yet studies arguing the opposite point of view are also available (Nye and Hoffman, 1963).

Various feminist critics have pointed out additional ways in which scientific enquiry has been limited by male-oriented values and perspectives (Acker, 1973; Collins, 1971; DeBeauvoir, 1961); Glazer-Malbin and Waehrer, 1972; Hacker, 1951; Millett, 1969; Sacks, 1974; Smith, 1974). Clearly, new reviews of work done in the past are in order; questionable assumptions can now be examined and feminist perspectives brought to bear upon them (Millman and Kantor, forthcoming).

Opening New Areas for Investigation

Male social scientists have typically dismissed certain areas of life as too frivolous or insubstantial to warrant serious investigation. If one judges by the topics they select, the emotional component of social interaction is nonexistent. Women are now turning their attention to this area, neglected since the days of Georg Simmel and only recently revived by Erving Goffman. For instance, researchers are looking at how an individual's emotional responses affect his/her quality of participation in the social structure (Hochschild, forthcoming a and b; Millman, 1974).

Certain human relationships have been virtually ignored by social scientists. For instance, amorous liaisons in the professions, while considered material for gossip, are not deemed worthy of serious and systematic consideration. But another point of view is possible. Jessie Bernard (Washington, D.C.) suggests that there should be serious study of the extent to which amorous affairs with professors, bosses, and other powerful figures affect the female career. If confidentiality of data could be maintained, such a project would be neither unethical nor unworthy. Studies of married couples who work together might also be revealing. How often are the contributions of the wife overlooked? What happens to the marriage when the wife is more successful or better-known? Much current research on women is designed to show them in a favorable light; if we consider the love-nest or the marriage bed as one means to success, we may learn something about the consequences of a sex-stratified society that is not necessarily so favorable to women. Cynthia Fuchs Epstein (CUNY, Queens) suggests that women's talents get absorbed and exploited in relationships with senior men in their field. Such liaisons, she believes, may be subject to the law of diminishing returns: instead of winning new opportunities for success, women may find that they do not get credit for their own achievements.

Other aspects of the informal side of life will be opened up for investigation. For instance, the private worlds shared by women and children, and heretofore revealed only in novels and journals, may now furnish material for systematic research. A few valuable studies are available on the housewife (Lopata, 1971), the secretary (Benet, 1972), the volunteer (Moore, 1961; Ross, 1958; Slater, 1960). But most such work is polemical. On the one hand, radical feminists want to jolt these women out of complacency and into an awareness of their "true" condition; on the other hand, establishment apologists are content to praise these women for their selflessness and faithful service (as in the literature on the noble volunteer). Neither group has produced serious studies of the problems and prospects for these women.

The women's movement should give confidence and authority to those investigators who wish to study the beauty parlor, the boutique, the supermarket, and the nursery; who want to examine the day-to-day interaction of wives, mothers, and working women as they emerge from their previously invisible

status. The traditional world of women—the young mother's coffee klatch, the matron's tearoom and matinee—are assumed to contrast sharply with the board room, the locker room, the businessmen's bar. But we lack systematic analyses—or even simply descriptive studies—of these worlds. Without such information, we are in difficulty when we wish to examine questions about what happens in a one-sex institution when members of the other sex are introduced. How does an organization (office, social group, industry) adjust to such a change? In what way do the perceptions, attitudes, and behavior of a group alter in response to this breaking down of barriers? Only by learning more about the world in which women move can we hope to get a comprehensive and undistorted picture of the society as a whole.

IV. SOCIALIZATION AND THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

This section reviews research on two broad and related topics: (a) the impact of the socialization process whereby boys and girls learn the sex-role stereotypes of our culture, and (b) the impact of the formal educational system, which contains structural elements that reinforce sex-role stereotypes. It also considers some of the changes currently under way in both the socialization process and the educational system and the possible effects of these changes on the lives of women and men.

Both socialization and formal education are sorting mechanisms that have worked to channel males and females into different categories. More specifically, females get sorted out of the formal educational system; at each successive level, their proportion decreases. Slightly more girls than boys complete high school, but fewer enroll in college. More women drop out during the college years, though a slightly larger proportion complete the baccalaureate within four years after college entry. Women are much less likely than men to enter graduate or professional schools and, once enrolled, more likely to drop out before completing an advanced degree. Thus, at every step, female talent is lost, despite the consistently higher grade averages of women. Indisputably, there are forces at work against women to prevent them from realizing their full intellectual potential.

The discussion is divided into: (1) preschool socialization, (2) early socialization—the elementary school, (3) adolescent socialization—the secondary school, (4) college, (5) graduate and professional training, and (6) the mass media as "educational supplements."

Preschool Socialization

The field of infant and child development has been widely examined in the last 50 years, but most pioneer investigators either ignored sex differences in behavior or assumed any observed differences are biologically determined. More recently, it has come to be acknowledged that most of these behavioral differences are learned and that preschool socialization is extremely important in fixing sex stereotypes as well as in general personality development (Froschl, 1973; Howe, 1971; Lipman-Blumen, 1972; Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). Some authorities, particularly those with psychoanalytic backgrounds, have tended to emphasize the necessity of socializing the child to his or her "appropriate" sex role. But the women's movement—and the more general cultural trend toward acceptance of a wide range of life styles and rejection of the concept of adjustment to social norms as the key to mental health—emphasizes personhood, leaving individuals free to choose their own options.

To what extent is this possible? An answer requires that we identify those differences, if any, between the sexes—in perception, cognition, emotional responsiveness—that are attributable to biological factors, and that we must know much more about how sex stereotypes are "taught" to the child. Some of the questions involved here will be considered in the discussion of parenting. Other problems requiring investigation are: Do parents typically talk to and fondle girl infants and boy infants differently? How important in sex-linked behavior is the presence of the mother and the father? What role do siblings or other children play? To what extent do children's early toys determine their

sex-role perceptions and later behavior? The study of infants and young children is notoriously difficult because so many variables must necessarily go uncontrolled; human beings cannot be isolated for long periods of time in experimental laboratories as rhesus monkeys can. Perhaps the only feasible method is to compare large numbers of children in different family situations: the mother at home and the father at work, or the mother and father working and sharing equally in child-rearing. Cross-cultural studies would be valuable as well. For instance, many people want to solve the problem of sex stereotyping by putting babies in nurseries and raising them communally, but this solution may be overhasty. There is some evidence that the communal system of child care may produce different personality characteristics. More studies of child care in China, Israel, and Russia are needed to see how children raised in infant centers develop, as compared with those raised in the family (Bettelheim, 1969; Boocock, 1973; Spiro, 1958). If government policy encourages the establishment of child care centers, what are the best arrangements for such centers? What are the advantages and disadvantages of the collective versus home care? What does each plan offer to the woman who does or does not want to work? We must recognize that currently the mother is the key to preschool socialization, so the whole question is inextricably entwined with the issue of whether, when, and where mothers work.

Early Socialization—The Elementary School

The pervasiveness of sex stereotyping in elementary schools has been solidly documented. For instance, analyses of the stories in readers commonly used in the classroom show that the protagonists tend to be male; that when girls appear as characters they are portrayed as timid, helpless, dependent upon the boys; that mothers are depicted only in the role of homemakers; and that occupations are sex-stereotyped, with police*men*, fire*men*, and male doctors featured but females limited to the roles of nurses and teachers. Moreover, classes and activities are often segregated by sex. Indeed, the authority structure of the school itself reinforces the stereotypes, since 85 percent of all elementary teachers are women, and 79 percent of all elementary principals are men. A number of groups (e.g., The Feminist Press, SUNY/Old Westbury, New York; KNOW, Inc., Pittsburgh; the Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education, National Education Association, Washington, D.C.) are attempting to correct some of these deficiencies by providing bibliographies and lists of materials that are free of sex stereotypes, and by urging teachers to create their own sex-free instructional aids. A central agency to gather data on sex-free curricula and materials, to function as a clearinghouse, and to carry out general research is needed. What materials do and do not work? When sex-free readers and other materials are not available or are too expensive, what methods can the teacher use to make children aware of the sex stereotypes in older material?

Some authorities have suggested that it is not enough to leave children free to choose their own activities and playthings, since by the time they enter kindergarten the damage is done: boys have learned to shun "girl" activities, and vice versa. Therefore, some kind of teacher intervention is necessary to direct children away from stereotyped behavior and open their eyes to new options. Only substantive findings, however, will prove the validity of such interventions and indicate the curricular content and teaching methods most effective in counteracting stereotypic thinking and in encouraging children of both sexes to learn and develop. (See Eliasberg, n.d.; Frisof, 1969; Mattfeld and Van Aken, 1965; Moberg and Froschl, 1973; Weitzman et al., 1972.)

Pronounced differences in the achievement patterns of males and females do not usually emerge until adolescence; one exception is reading ability. Studies in the United States (and the Philippines) show that girls outrank boys in reading achievement during the early years. To what extent is this superiority attributable to their earlier maturation rate, and to what extent to factors in the classroom environment? Does the difference arise because women teachers are the models in countries where girls show higher reading skills?

Critics of the American educational system indict women teachers for feminizing the boys but overlook the damage done to the girls (Levy, 1973). By rewarding girls—with high grades or words of praise—for being "good" pupils (i.e., docile, quiet), teachers reinforce the notion that girls should be passive and

conforming. Boys, even though they may be reprimanded more frequently for their boisterousness, may ultimately benefit simply because they get more attention from the teacher. In the long run, however, both boys and girls suffer from being pressured into roles often hard to fulfill. Girls are made to feel ashamed for behaving in an "unladylike" manner, boys for expressing emotions (Olds, 1973).

Much of what has been written about the deficiencies of the woman elementary school teacher—her attitudes, her behavior, her differential treatment of boys and girls—is conjectural and may itself reflect stereotypic thinking. Extensive surveys of the attitudes and opinions of elementary school teachers would shed some light on the truth of such assertions. But even more crucial are studies of actual behavior. Do teachers discipline and reward boys and girls differently? Are larger numbers of male elementary school teachers the answer to such problems? Fragmentary evidence suggests that it is not the sex but the style of the teacher that counts. Systematic data, based on objective observation in the classroom, are badly needed to discover what constitutes effective and ineffective teaching. In particular, we need studies of teachers other than white females. The University of Missouri (Columbia) study reported in Adams and Biddle (1970) constitutes one example of how studies of teaching might be carried out.

Feminist groups have devoted considerable energy to consciousness-raising among teachers: making them more aware of their part in perpetuating sex stereotypes, encouraging them to develop new materials and try new techniques. But so far such efforts have been somewhat random and haphazard; moreover, many teachers—set in their ways, perhaps, and unsympathetic to the women's movement—may well resist new and seemingly radical ideas. It is imperative, then, to explore ways of incorporating these ideas into present teacher training programs. The curricula in schools and departments of education may require thorough revision to accomplish this aim.

Adolescent Socialization—The Secondary School

Current research indicates that most junior high school girls still have a traditional orientation. Moreover, at adolescence, girls typically become preoccupied with their own attractiveness and their popularity with boys. It is in this period that sex differences in abilities emerge: Girls draw ahead of boys in both high-level and low-level verbal skills, and boys draw ahead in visual-spatial and in mathematical skills (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974). Girls tend to suppress their intelligence, however, and may even register drops in IQ.

Estelle Ramey (Georgetown University Medical School) notes that even among gifted children (a group that comprises a larger proportion of girls than boys), girls tend to fall behind at this point. One contributing factor may be that resources for the gifted are more often channeled to boys than to girls. Are there other differences in the treatment of gifted boys and girls? Is the boy who shows unusual artistic ability given the direction and training he needs? Is the girl who demonstrates superior ability in such male-dominated areas as mathematics and the sciences encouraged and counseled into appropriate courses? Or is there a tendency to encourage only sex-appropriate talent?

Making the "hard" sciences absorbing to young people—boys as well as girls—presents a special challenge to the educator. If more women are to become natural scientists, they must be attracted into the field early, since training in mathematics, chemistry, physics, and biology is sequential and difficult to make up later (Mallfeld and Van Aken, 1965; Theodore, 1971; Sells, 1973; White, 1970). Indeed, efforts to stimulate interest in the sciences should probably begin at the elementary school level and may require interventions in the early socialization process to prevent girls from being "turned off" to what they may perceive as a male preserve. Adeline Naiman (Education Development Center, Boston) suggests that educators in elementary science need to be urged (and trained) to address scientific education to everyone. Using a film-based program in the schools that permits study of children's responses to parts of the film directed at certain decision points in career development, Naiman concludes that junior high school students are very reactionary even after they have taken a model elementary science program. Creative and innovative potential seems to diminish at puberty, and this decrease is particularly apparent among girls. Some members of the Association of Women in Science (AWIS) are encouraging

younger women scientists to lecture in high schools, on the grounds that they may provide particularly effective role models because they are closer in age to the girls in the audience.

More generally, children should be exposed to science as something familiar and possible. For instance, guided tours through such scientific establishments as the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and other laboratories and scientific centers might arouse their interest. Such programs need coordination and funding; in addition, studies of their long-term impact should be undertaken.

Many of the patterns of sex discrimination already noted in elementary schools extend into junior and senior high schools. For instance, textbooks emphasize the achievements of men to the exclusion of women, although some efforts at revision are under way. One particular deficiency that needs remedy involves the treatment of minority women in secondary school textbooks. For example, although some slight progress has been made in describing the role that black men have played in American history, the role of black women has been virtually ignored (Miller, 1973). Lists of books about black women are available, and these books should be included in secondary school curricula. The culture of other minority groups, and the contributions of women in these groups, should be covered as well.

Sex-segregated classes and activities also continue into secondary school; the most obvious examples are the channeling of girls into home economics and secretarial courses and of boys into technical and industrial courses (McCune, 1974). This kind of discrimination is particularly insidious in that it locks many young women (particularly those who do not aspire to college) into the lowest-paying kinds of jobs. Under recent federal legislation, more funds now go into vocational and career training at the high school level, and many innovative and promising programs are under way. But most of them are directed at boys only. Girls continue to be shuttled into classes like "Teen-Age Boutique." Research is needed to document the extent to which sex segregation in vocational and technical education still exists, despite laws that forbid it. The next step is to consider how to assure that the law is enforced and training programs are desegrated.

Sally Hillsman Baker (1974) has some interesting findings about the process whereby racism and racial tracking continue in vocational schools. Her work might provide a model for work on sex tracking as a product of unconscious discrimination on the part of counselors and teachers—the institutionalized racism or sexism which perpetuates inequity long after formal regulations abolish it.

The vocational and educational counseling available to high school students often serves not to open up options but to reinforce sex stereotypes. The vocational interest inventories frequently used in counseling have come under much criticism from feminists. For instance, Gloria Leon (Rugters University), after analyzing the "male" and "female" forms of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank, concludes that the activities and occupations listed on the male form are much more numerous and varied than those on the female form and that girls are forced to respond to items that place them in the derived status of wife. For instance, they are asked whether they would prefer to be married to a rancher or a corporation president (Boring, 1973). Inventories should permit girls a wider range of choices (Cole, 1972).

In addition, high school counselors may themselves manifest sex bias that in turn influences the counseling interaction. The problems of reeducating guidance counselors resemble the problems already mentioned in connection with teachers. Sporadic efforts at consciousness-raising may not be sufficient; the better solution might be to reform training programs.

Even when adolescent girls have high aspirations and expectations, they may encounter opposition in both overt and subtle forms. For instance, research has shown that high school boys think that girls should not aim too high in their career plans. Any study of socialization, therefore, should take into account the attitudes of the peer group and the pressures it exerts on the individual. The possibilities of coeducational counseling might be explored.

In addition, the effect of what Harry Stack Sullivan (1953) has called "significant others" on the lives of adolescent boys and girls should be studied. Parents, other relatives, teachers, counselors, and other authority figures all play

a part in the development of attitudes and career motivations among young people. Case studies that focus on key figures and crucial points in the young person's career decision should help to explain the developmental process and to suggest effective interventions.

One final question that must be addressed in considering any reform in the socialization of young people is the reaction of the parents. How will they respond to efforts to break down sex stereotypes? Will they favor this opening up of options to boys and girls? Will they draw back in alarm? What kinds of opposition can feminist-oriented teachers expect? Research is needed to describe and analyze various parental responses and to suggest ways of winning parental support.

College

The proportion of women among first-time, full-time freshmen has risen steadily in recent years, from 43 percent in 1968 to 48 percent in 1974. But considerable talent is still being lost, particularly among academically able women at lower socioeconomic levels who are often not motivated or encouraged to attend college (Astin et al., 1974; Creager et al., 1968; Cross, 1974). Many institutions (other than the open-door community colleges) still apply stricter admission standards to women than to men. One example of such bias is giving heavier weight to scores on tests of academic ability (where men do better than women) than to high school grades (where women do better than men). In 1974, women tended to be concentrated more heavily at private two-year colleges (whereas men were over-represented at the far more numerous public two-year colleges), at public, Protestant, and Roman Catholic four-year colleges (but not at private nonsectarian colleges), at universities of low selectivity, and at predominantly black colleges. We need studies that will indicate the reasons for this institutional distribution of women and trace its implications.

In recent years, the proportion of young women who, at college entry, aspire to male-dominated professional fields (engineering, law, and medicine) and to professional degrees has increased steadily. For instance, in 1968, only 0.6 percent of entering freshman women said they planned to become lawyers; in 1974, the figure was 2.3 percent. The percentages of women who plan to major in physical and biological science, however, have registered only slight increases. Elementary and secondary school teaching have lost female aspirants, whereas nursing and other non-M.D. health professions (e.g., therapy, dietetics, optometry, veterinary medicine) have gained; but these changes over time probably reflect the changing job market more than anything else. Nonetheless, it would be helpful to identify some of the factors related to changes in initial aspirations and plans among women. It is suggestive that these same entering freshman women have become less traditional in their attitudes on women's issues. For example, in 1970, over one-third agreed with the statement that "the activities of married women are best confined to the home and family"; by 1972, the ratio had dropped to one in four, and in 1974, only one in five female freshmen (but two in five male freshmen) endorsed the statement. Moreover, 95 out of 100 women in the most recent freshman class felt that women should get the same salary and opportunities for advancement as men in comparable positions. In short, some of the basic tenets of the women's movement seem to have been adopted by college women. (See American Council on Education, 1970, 1972.)

But what happens to women once they are in college? They are more likely to drop out than men (even though they generally make better college grades), but the factors associated with attrition are difficult to specify. Getting married and becoming pregnant account for some of the female dropouts but by no means all (Astin, 1972; Bayer, 1969; Patterson and Sells, 1973). More research is needed to explain their higher attrition rates.

It is known that, in the past, women undergraduates have depended more on their parents for financial support, whereas men have depended more on earnings from employment and savings; men were more likely to take loans, and women slightly more likely to get scholarships and grants. Recently, the federal government has put a much greater emphasis on loan programs than on grants (except to students from very low-income families), and many institutions no longer have funds for scholarship support to their students. Have these shifts in

student aid affected women? Are larger proportions now dropping out—or failing to enroll in college at all—because women are more hesitant than men to incur indebtedness?

Despite their higher attrition rates, women are more likely than men to complete the bachelor's degree within four years after college entry. What accounts for this sex difference in persistence rates? Since men are more likely to take outside jobs to support themselves in college, it may be that they take reduced course loads and thus do not complete the degree requirements in the four-year span.

It would be instructive to see how women do in various kinds of innovative programs that allow flexible scheduling, self-pacing, acceleration, and time out from college for a semester or so (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973). Are they less apt to drop out permanently in any of these circumstances? Do they attain the baccalaureate more rapidly? What kinds of progress do they make in programs of independent study? Comparisons of women in different kinds of innovative programs and of men and women in the same kinds of innovative programs would be helpful.

That more women, at college entry, are naming male-dominated fields as their career choice does not necessarily mean that the proportion of women doctors, lawyers, and engineers will increase dramatically in the near future. Astin and Panos (1969), in a study of 1961 freshmen followed up in 1965, report that during the college years, women who had initially named a masculine career choice were likely to switch to a more feminine field (especially teaching or paraprofessional health careers) and unlikely to be recruited into a masculine career choice. In other words, college women may be subjected to pressures that force them into more "appropriate" fields. Such a change is discouraging; one would hope that the college experience frees women from sex-stereotyped career choices. On the other hand, the situation may have changed in more recent years, a possibility supported by indirect evidence: Astin and Panos found not only that women had lower degree aspirations than men at the time of college entry but also that women tended to lower their degree aspirations during the college years. In a more recent study, however, Bayer et al. (1973), reporting on a 1971 followup of 1967 freshmen, found that degree aspirations tended to rise over the college years, and that this increase was particularly marked among women. Studies are needed that will trace undergraduate patterns of stability in, defection from, and recruitment to various career choices.

Although there is much anecdotal material on the structural barriers that impede college women—e.g., inadequate counseling, negative attitudes on the part of college professors, a male-oriented curriculum—little empirical evidence exists about causal relations between characteristics of the college environment and a student's progress, plans, and eventual career choice. Indeed, many studies of college effects conclude that student "input" (i.e., the characteristics that students bring with them to college) accounts for most of the differences in the "output" of different colleges and that the college itself may have very little impact (Astin, 1968b; Feldman and Newcomb, 1969). Perhaps researchers should look at the differential effects for each sex separately.

In addition, the college effects that have been identified require careful interpretation to discover just how and why a particular kind of institution influences particular outcomes. For instance, attendance at a university increases a student's chances of dropping out, decreases aspirations for the Ph.D., and increases aspirations for a professional degree; attendance at a liberal arts college has the opposite pattern of effects. The sharp contrast may in part be attributable to the lack of contact between students and professors and the impersonality and coldness that characterize universities, as opposed to the warmer and friendlier atmosphere of the liberal arts college (Astin and Panos, 1969; Astin, 1968). Attending a college with a cohesive atmosphere (e.g., where the typical student has many close friends) has a positive effect on persistence and increases the student's interest in a career as a physical scientist. We need to identify other elements of college life that have a favorable impact on women students. More particularly, we need to know what conditions and interventions will encourage women to go into male-dominated fields of study and remain in those fields. Some institutions have undertaken active programs to recruit women into science and engineering. Lynne Brown (Purdue University) has

established a program of counseling and of exposure to role models designed to keep women in science programs. A similar program for women engineering students has also proved successful. Organizations of women students within particular disciplines (e.g., an extracurricular "club" for women undergraduates in engineering) may contribute to a cohesive and supportive atmosphere; special discussion sections for women only have also been suggested (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973). Other kinds of support systems should be developed, and their success evaluated.

Many single-sex institutions have recently closed down or turned coeducational. For instance, the number of Catholic women's colleges has been sharply reduced, and several of the elite women's colleges now admit men. Many observers lament the passing of women's colleges, pointing out that these institutions produced large proportions of women who went on to outstanding professional achievement. Tidball (1973) attributes this relation to the high proportion of women faculty who serve as role models to their students. Others have suggested, however, that the superior academic ability of the women who attend these elite institutions accounts for their high production of outstanding women. More systematic research is needed to determine to what extent these somewhat opposing interpretations hold true.

Women's colleges can be studied in terms of other issues as well. What problems (in women's colleges and coeducational institutions) are involved when male professors teach women students? Are there sex-related differences in faculty attitudes toward students? If such differences can be demonstrated, how can they be managed so that student development is maximized?

What happens at the single-sex college turned coeducational? Yale, for instance, recently opened its doors to women, some of whom have described their experiences in that strongly masculine atmosphere (Lever and Schwartz, 1971; Jelly, 1974; Getman, 1974; Deinhardt, 1974). It would be instructive to examine changes in student status and achievement patterns at these colleges. The differential rate at which men and women contribute to classroom discussion provides one example for comparative study: Do the patterns differ according to the sex composition of the class? What kind of teacher behavior encourages female participation?

Another area for investigation is the comparative Ph.D. productivity of various colleges (i.e., the proportion of their graduates who go on to earn the doctorate). Historical and comparative studies of different undergraduate institutions might reveal why some are successful at channeling their women students into graduate study in the sciences (Campbell, 1971; Rossi, 1971), while others are not.

A final topic for research in connection with women in college is women's studies, a field which in the last five years or so has proliferated on the nation's campuses and even at some high schools (Robinson, 1973). A number of groups (e.g., The Feminist Press, KNOW, Inc.) have issued publications that list and describe various courses, programs, and available materials. Do these courses help raise women's aspirations? Do they help free women of sexual stereotypes? What is their effect on male students? Several rather controversial points arise in connection with women's studies. Should they be taught as separate courses or within existing disciplines? Should they take an activist or an academic stance? Can excluding or restricting participation by men, both as teachers and students, be justified? Cynthia Fuchs Epstein (CUNY, Queens College) and others have argued that if women's studies are separatist, activist, and limited to women only, they will inevitably be regarded as "second-class" disciplines. Studies that compare the effects of women's studies courses that vary along these dimensions might help to resolve these questions.

Graduate and Professional Training

In 1970, women constituted 37 percent of the resident graduate student population and 10 percent of the medical and law student population. Women outnumber men in master's programs; and for the many women enrolled in library science, social work, and education, the master's will probably be the terminal degree. Most authorities agree that the women admitted to graduate or professional schools are a highly select group, more able, on the average, than their male counterparts. Despite their superiority, however, they encounter difficulties in pursuing advanced training.

Discriminatory practices in graduate and professional school admissions are exemplified by the quotas for women that medical and law schools have had in the past. Such quotas are now illegal (Dunkle and Sandler, 1974) and in the last few years, the enrollment of women in first professional degree programs has risen, particularly in law schools. Thelma Z. Lavine (1974) suggests that many of these women may not have a deep commitment to the field of law and will probably drop out before completing the degree. Longitudinal studies of the characteristics of women entering law schools, and of their degree completion rates, would prove or disprove this contention. What is attracting so many women to the profession of law? What are their expectations and career aspriations?

The attrition rate of women in advanced training—and particularly in doctoral programs—is high, and some of the reasons why are obvious. Many 20-to-24-year-old women get married and start families, and marriage and family often demand much more of women than of men graduate students. Even those women who do not have children spend considerable time and energy at household tasks. Compounding this problem, women are less likely to be enrolled in the physical sciences (where the normal time span for doctorate completion is 7.3 years) than in the social sciences and humanities (where the normal time span is 11.7 years). It requires a high degree of persistence and commitment to stay in a program for that length of time, as evidenced by the generally higher attrition rates (among men as well as women) in these fields. (See Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973; Patterson and Sells, 1973; Roby, 1973.) Medical training too is a lengthy process, although some medical schools are now experimenting with accelerated programs. Can similar programs be initiated in graduate schools without "cheapening" the degree? Are there ways of encouraging graduate students—both male and female—to complete the dissertation promptly, without the agonizing delays that too often characterize that final stage of doctoral work? Are more graduate students now leaving graduate study for financial reasons since the federal government has cut back sharply on funds for gradaute fellowships and for research and development? Do women suffer from these cutbacks more than men?

The woman graduate student is hampered also by the negative attitudes she encounters. Many professors and male graduate students believe that women are not as deeply committed to their discipline as men and that money spent on their training (especially in such costly fields as medical education and graduate science education) is wasted since they will never make use of it. (All the evidence indicates that this contention is false; the labor force participation of the woman doctorate is impressively high; see Astin, 1969.) In short, men may refuse to take women graduate students seriously and may even be contemptuous of them for not playing the traditional woman's role. Such attitudes can result in demoralization, emotional stress, dissatisfaction with graduate study, and a loss of motivation to remain in graduate school. Moreover, faculty availability has been found to be directly related to satisfaction and performance in graduate school, and women graduate students typically have fewer contacts with professors than do male graduate students (Feldman, 1974; Holmstrom and Holmstrom, 1974). We need studies to identify other psychological barriers that confront women graduate students. Ways of overcoming these barriers—such as more informal contacts with professors and with women in the field who can serve as role models—should be explored and evaluated. The effectiveness of campus child care centers in relieving some of the burdens imposed on married women graduate students should also be examined.

The Mass Media as "Educational Supplements"

The existence of sex-role stereotypes in the mass media, especially television, has been thoroughly documented (Bem and Bem, 1970; Clark and Esposito, 1971; Courtney and Lockeritz, 1971; Vogel et al., n.d., Weitzman et al., 1972). These stereotypes reinforce the lessons learned first in the home and later in the classroom.

Further studies are needed to determine just how the sex stereotypes purveyed by the mass media affect the self-image and behavior pattern of various age groups (Gardner, 1970). How do boys and girls, men and women, react to the image of the woman (as seductress or as housewife) presented in television commercials? How are one's views of others, one's motivations and occupational

goals, one's level of achievement affected by stereotyped presentations on television, in magazines, in films? (See Kinzer, 1973; Komisar, 1971; Lefkowitz, 1972; Ray, 1972; Rosen, 1973.) Recent collections of quantitative data (Cantor, 1973; NOW, 1973) may prove useful in answering these questions.

The impact of stereotypes in the media cannot be ascertained without careful consideration of what the stereotypes include and how they are affected by changing times (Flora, 1971). Moreover, we must know more about categories of male and female behavior as they actually occur in society; such a study might demonstrate wide variations within each sex and thus support the view that the presentation of the sexes in the media is inaccurate.

In addition, cross-cultural studies would be useful. For instance, fragmentary evidence suggests that adolescent children in Denmark are less influenced by sex-role stereotypes than are children in the United States; some ascribe this difference to the lack of television in Denmark.

Research on such topics leads to larger issues: To what extent are stereotypes reversible or modifiable? If they can be reinforced by the media, can they be broken down in the same way? Some television stations are now allotting time to serious and thoughtful women's programs, and some companies (e.g., Santa Fe Railroad) are sponsoring commercials that emphasize their employment of women in what were previously men's jobs. Have these changes reduced the audience's sex stereotypes and sex-biases?

Affirmative Action Issues

Over the last decade, federal legislation to promote equal employment opportunities for women has gradually evolved to cover more job settings and more types of workers; at the same time, it has moved from the negative concept of nondiscrimination to the positive doctrine of affirmative action, requiring that a federal contractor take definite steps to hire formerly excluded groups, including women. This requirement has caused much concern among employers. Perhaps one of the most visible groups affected is colleges and universities. Their concern is exacerbated by the tight financial squeeze on higher education. (See Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973; Eastwood, 1972; Sandler, 1973a, 1973b; Weitzman, 1973.) Some academic administrators may not understand the responsibility and legal necessity for complying with the various government regulations and guidelines. They may be confused, for instance, about goals as opposed to quotas in hiring (Rumbarger, 1974). To study noncompliance or poor compliance, one might formulate categories of informal resistance to—and even subversion of—federal orders and analyze systematically the various institutional responses to the requirements (Goodwin, 1973). It might also be instructive to compare the differential success of affirmative action in academia and in the world of business/industry.

One difficulty that arises is how to conduct a job analysis that will make clear the extent to which women and minorities are underemployed (as well as identify other employment conditions, including salary levels, that may indicate discriminatory practices) without violating confidentiality of records. Examination of cases where such an analysis has been carried out successfully would help in the delineation of appropriate guidelines and procedures (Fleming, 1974).

Another difficulty involves present procedures for redress of inequities. In most cases the person complainig of inequities must directly confront those against whom the complaint is made. This procedure may cause embarrassment and lead to later punitive retaliation. Research might explore alternative procedures for managing such situations—procedures that would violate neither fair play nor due process requirements.

In evaluating the efficacy of an affirmative action plan, the question of how to ascertain what standards should be included is paramount. To introduce women into management or academic administration positions, for example, the often intuitive judgments by which managerial "material" is usually selected must be understood (Ginzberg and Yohalem, 1973). How can these judgments be made explicit?

The present situation is sometimes divisive in that it may often create frictions among groups that should be working together toward mutual goals (most notably, women and racial/ethnic minorities) and may encourage playing out adversary relations between employers and employees in the courtroom. Accusations of "reverse discrimination" (that is, discrimination against white

males) are widespread. But these oratorical conflicts merely obscure the issues and postpone efforts to promote equality (Sandler, 1975).

Moreover, existing affirmative action legislation is viewed by some as punitive—threatening termination of federal contracts and the withholding of funds. Federal contract support has become so commonplace that many people do not see this continued support as sufficient reward for "good-faith efforts." Learning theory tells us that positive reinforcement is much more effective in producing desirable behavior than negative reinforcement. Therefore, more research is needed on positive ways of encouraging institutions to develop programs, as well as direct encouragement of women to enter and remain in the labor force. For instance, the federal government might allow deductions for educational and child-care costs, thus showing support for women who return to school or join the paid labor force if they wish. Corporations might be willing to fund a study of such "carrot" legislation (Laws, n.d.a.).

Any research undertaken should stress the benefits for all—not just for one segment of the population—that derive from greater equality in employment. Indeed, it may be difficult to get funding for research that is not aimed at helping everyone. But some issues will be of greater concern to women than others, and researchers should be encouraged to pursue these topics. A scholarship or fellowship program to encourage women to carry out research on projects of high priority would be helpful.

Another way in which research on incentives to affirmative action might be undertaken is through the study of successful integration programs, particularly of cases where women have been integrated "naturally." Hennig's study of female business executives (1971) and Epstein's study of women lawyers (forthcoming) may provide models for further investigation of what makes some affirmative action efforts succeed and others fail.

Pools of the Eligible. Under present HEW requirements, departments within colleges and universities must define available pools of eligible women and minorities. The completeness of such studies varies, depending on the commitment of a particular discipline or department and on the availability of such data. One direction that research might take, then, is the examination of ways in which pools of eligible job candidates are constructed (Apter, 1974; Astin, 1974; Graham, 1970; Ross, 1974). Such studies should examine not only formal procedures but also informal patterns of behavior (and informal pressures to sidestep guidelines).

Faculty wives are an underutilized resource in many college communities. Faculty women might undertake surveys, outside of university jurisdiction, of this pool of highly qualified women. Not only would such surveys offer systematic data on underutilizaion, but also they would be of direct practical value to well-intentioned administrators.

Part-Time Appointments and Tenure. Women are more likely than men to have part-time faculty appointments. However, they are usually penalized for this status, being less likely than men to advance through the ranks to tenure positions. Now a movement is underway to regularize extended part-time employment so that these faculty members will receive the rewards and benefits of regular faculty. Sheila Tobias has conceptualized the principles around which part-time tenure has been argued, but so far little documentation or case law on the subject exists. A related development is to treat maternity leave like any other short-time disability and to allow both male and female faculty members equal access to leave for child rearing, should they so desire. (See Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1974; Tobias and Rumbarger, 1974; Truax, 1974.) Data collected now will indicate the potentialities of such work arrangements. How many part-time positions actually exist? How many allow for tenure? How rapidly are part-time tenure positions developing around the country? Evidence exists that such arrangements are differently managed at public than at private universities; what are these differences?

Some argue that part-time tenure will result in a loss of full-time faculty positions and suggest that some system of guaranteed employment be initiated instead. Such a system would protect, for example, the teacher who has served for 19 years as a part-time math teacher and who is dropped from the college faculty with the advent of hard times. What are the implications for women of such a system over part-time tenure?

As nepotism regulations have generally been eliminated on the grounds that they discriminate against women (chiefly faculty wives), many institutions are making joint husband-wife appointments, with each partner working on a part-time basis. In-depth studies of such tandem teaching teams might be illuminating for what they tell us not only about work arrangements but also about family arrangements.

Retirement and Fension Benefits. Under many retirement plans (including TIAA-CREF, which covers many employees in educational institutions), women, on retirement, are paid smaller monthly benefits than are men, the argument being that since women have a longer life expectancy, the "average woman" will receive as much (or more) than the "average man" over the total retirement period. The fairness of this assumption has been challenged by such groups as the Association of American University Professors. Indeed, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission guidelines of March 31, 1972, would seem to forbid differential payments based on sex. Opponents of the present system point out that an established principle in antidiscrimination suits is that no particular woman should be treated as the "average woman" (and no man as the "average man") since the two sexes overlap with respect to mortality rates; and that the present system in effect forces retired faculty women into a much lower standard of living than retired faculty men. It is interesting to note that many industrial and state teachers retirement plans now distribute equal benefits. Further research may be needed to assess the full implications of equal retirement benefits. In addition, statistics on male and female mortality rates may need reassessing to determine whether working women have been adequately counted into the actuarial tables in current use. Studies might also be made to evaluate the best way to change insurance and pension systems to a unisex actuarial basis.

V. THE WORLD OF WORK

In January 1973, women constituted about 40 percent of the labor force in this country. Over the last three decades, the number of women workers has risen, until now they predominate in certain industrial sectors: services (health and education, as well as household and personal services); and at the lower levels of finance, insurance, real estate, and retail trade. Moreover, married women, including those with young children, are increasingly likely to work. In 1970, four out of ten married women, and three out of ten with children under age 6, were employed outside the home (Waldman and McEaddy, 1974).

But despite the heavy representation of women in the labor force, and despite recent federal legislation forbidding sex discrimination in employment, women continue to suffer inequities. In some cases, the difficulties they experience are the result of the lifelong process of sex-role socialization. In other cases, women are hampered by structural obstacles in the occupational system itself. The emphasis in this section is on the latter type of difficulty.

The issues connected with women and work are subsumed under five rather broad headings: (1) the factors that influence women's participation in the labor force; (2) the effects of the sex stereotyping of occupations; (3) problems connected with job entry, including counseling, recruitment and training; (4) problems connected with particular kinds of paid work; and (5) some of the issues surrounding affirmative action efforts to end job discrimination.

Determinants of Labor Force Participation Among Women

Because they involve a vast number of complex and interrelated questions, work-related issues spanning an entire career are separated from other life cycle issues (discussed later). Most young women think of the future in terms of marriage and children first; those who plan on careers usually allow time out for child-bearing and child-rearing. Consequently, women have more difficulty than men in managing their careers throughout the life cycle. Moreover, some young women do not think in terms of careers at all; they marry and ultimately take

jobs for a variety of reasons ranging from pressing financial need to boredom with housework. (See Astin, 1969; Epstein, 1971; Fogarty et al., 1971; Giele, 1972a, 1973a; Ginzberg et al., 1966; Holmstrom, 1972; Klein, 1965; Komarovsky, 1962; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971; Weil, 1971.)

Economists often speak of women as providing "elasticity" in the labor force. The assumption is that they enter the market when demand is high and job openings plentiful, and they leave it when the job market becomes tight. But new research indicates that this may not be the case, that women are stable in the labor force (Bergmann and Adelman, 1973; U.S. Department of Labor, 1974). More research is needed to learn the extent to which women are stable workers (Oleson, forthcoming).

Work opportunities vary considerably from one part of the country to another; even particular cities within the same region present special problems and contexts for jobs. To understand the participation of women in the labor force, we need a more complete and accurate picture of local labor markets than is now available. The Women's Bureau and the Department of Labor currently do not report statistics by individual cities; if this ommission were corrected, more meaningful comparisons could be made between men and women with respect to the numbers and kinds of jobs they take. (See Archibald, 1970; U.S. Department of Labor, 1973.)

The competitive position that women hold vis-a-vis other groups of workers in a particular region is another factor that influences their labor force participation. We might, for instance, look at the situation in Detroit, where Yemenites were imported to work in the auto industry. How well did women in the labor force match up to the foreign workers? What differences do workers of foreign origin make in the employment structure for women? What about those cities that have large proportions of minority males in competition for jobs?

One salient example of the kinds of strictures imposed by a local market situation on a woman's employment is provided by the faculty wife. Recent studies suggest that underutilized faculty wives are common around big universities in the United States (Hughes, 1973; Sigworth, 1974; Weissman et al., 1973). These women are frequently highly educated—many have doctorates—but because of their overabundance in university towns, their lack of mobility, and nepotism regulations, they are often exploited, forced to work at low-level and unsatisfying jobs or at more demanding jobs for low pay. We need innovative research to define some of their problems and to develop possible solutions. For instance, there are no systematic studies on the part-time employment of faculty wives.

In situations where jobs for women are available, other factors may determine their labor force participation. For women with small children, one obvious factor is the existence of adequate child care facilities. Descriptive data about child care arrangements are needed in order to discover who would make use of them if they were available. (Sue Boocock, 1973; Bourne, 1971; Roby, 1973.) What kinds of child care arrangements are most effective? Should these centers be run on a 24-hour basis in some circumstances (for instance, in cities with heavy industry) to accommodate women who want to work on something other than a 9-to-5 shift? The women's division of the United Auto Workers (UAW) recently decided to focus on child care as a job perquisite. It would be interesting to study this group before and after the plan to implement child care. Other demonstration projects might be arranged to determine the various benefits to women from child care and the consequences of those benefits.

Another factor that may influence a woman's interest in taking a job is her perception of the degree of satisfaction that it offers. Faced with a choice between a tedious job and remaining home with their children, many women will choose the latter. Therefore, comparing women with men in terms of worker satisfaction within particular job categories might yield fruitful insights. Howard Parns and his associates (Ohio State University) are collecting data on this topic.

The qualifications that a woman feels she has may influence her search for a job. What happens to women whose skills are upgraded as a result of additional education? Will they seek jobs that they might otherwise not have considered? To answer these questions, we need longitudinal information on the subsequent careers of such groups as older women of the working class or at the poverty level who return to school for a college degree and then enter the job market.

Sex-Typing of Jobs

Sex differentiation begins at an early age, and so do notions of what constitutes appropriate work for males and for females. Even kindergartners tend to stereotype occupations by sex. By what process do sex differences become identified with jobs? To what extent do the roles taken by the mother and the father in a family determine a child's perceptions of "men's work" and "women's work"? (See Almquist, 1973; Horner, 1971, 1972; Iglitzin, 1973; Nilsen, 1971; Oppenheimer, 1968; Schlossberg, forthcoming; Weitzman et al., 1972.)

The consequences of sex differentiation with respect to work are everywhere apparent. Some fields are virtually closed to women (e.g., the skilled trades, many of the professions), whereas other careers are female-dominated (e.g., nursing, library science, dental hygiene, social work, elementary and high school teaching, dietetics, physical therapy). There is some evidence that occupational stereotypes are breaking down. For instance, slightly larger proportions of entering college men are expressing an interest in "feminine" health fields (therapy, nursing) and slightly larger proportions of entering college women plan on careers in male-dominated health professions (medicine, dentistry) (Holmstrom and Cohen, 1974). How widespread are such trends? What are the characteristics of women attracted to traditionally masculine careers and of men attracted to traditionally feminine careers? A closer look at the demographic characteristics, socioeconomic background, educational attainment, and personal attributes of these occupationally "deviant" individuals of both sexes will help us to understand more fully the dynamics of sex-typing and may suggest ways to dissolve artificial barriers.

One obvious result of sex-typing is that men and women do not do the same kind of work, even when they are employed in the same firm or in the same industry. Thus, women accumulate in marginal occupations and industries. Researchers at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology are studying this phenomenon of occupational segregation (U.S. Department of Labor, 1974). Some efforts are now under way to remove existing sex-stereotyped categories by changing occupational titles. A study of such titles and of the changes made in them should provide comparisons for studying actual concentrations of women in marginal or subordinate jobs. (See Etzioni, 1969; Gross, 1971; Oppenheimer, 1968, 1973.)

Another obvious concomitant of sex-stereotyping and occupational segregation is that women usually receive less pay than men for similar work. One would expect this salary differential to lead to differential performance. (See Simon et al., 1967; Suter and Miller, 1973; U.S. Department of Labor, 1973.)

Some evidence indicates that people—and particularly women—are often eager to work at "glamour" jobs even though they may pay very badly. For example, women who work in the media or who do free-lance publicity and editorial work may find remuneration minimal. In the media, not only are women far more likely to be in lower-paying jobs but also they are often paid less even when they do the same work as men. Often a radio or television station will employ one minority woman in a highly visible position as a token both to minority groups and to women's groups. An analysis of the structure that produces and reinforces this pattern would be useful.

In addition to low pay, women's jobs are characterized by lack of opportunities for mobility. What are the possibilities for restructuring typical female jobs so that they are not dead ends? Will current efforts at occupational reclassification minimize sex-linked job definitions? How can a clerical worker become a technician? How can a secretary move into a management position? What research can facilitate role mobility—vertical and horizontal—as individual interests and market needs fluctuate? Can jobs be reclassified so that equivalents are established that upgrade female employment: such as technician equals clerk, programmer equals secretary? Some intriguing suggestions for answers to these questions come from a recent conference at MIT under the direction of Phyllis Wallace. (See Ruina, 1974.)

Problems of Job Entry

The point of entry into the occupational system is crucial. How are particular jobs and particular people matched? On what basis do women decide what kinds of jobs to look for? How do employers go about seeking women to fill a given

position? What kinds of on-the-job training are offered? Counseling, recruitment and hiring, and training are all areas that merit the attention of researchers.

Vocational counseling and guidance may influence the occupational alternatives that people consider. Too often, however, counselors themselves may discourage women from broadening their perspectives and channel them into the narrow range of women's jobs. Nancy Schlossberg and Janet Brik (University of Maryland Counseling Center) are interested in the question of "liberated" counseling and have developed a videotape training film designed to teach counselors to respond to clients' problems in unbiased and nonstereotyped ways. (See Schlossberg, 1974b).

But even if the counselor is liberated from sex bias, an additional problem is that many women in the nation simply do not have access to adequate counseling and guidance services once they are out of the educational system. Where can the middle-aged blue-collar wife go when she wants to explore job possibilities? How can she learn about choices in a society where job patterns are changing drastically? The answer may lie in community-based guidance centers, a recent innovation in many parts of the country. One example is the Regional Learning Service of Central New York; another is an adult telephone counseling service funded by the National Institute of Education; still another is the Department of Labor-funded Washington Opportunities for Women. We need to study such projects to discover how they work and how effective they are in linking people with training opportunities. (See Schlossberg, 1974a; Vickers, 1973).

Research on the effects of job advertisements has already been helpful in litigation against sex-segregated ads. Sandra and Daryl Bem (1970) offer data showing that sex-stereotyped ads influence who applies for—and is hired for—a job; some changes in advertising practices followed publication of their results. It has also been found that "neutral" ads which do not state explicitly that a job is open to women have the same effect as sex-stereotyped ads in determining who applies for a job. The implication is that minimal acquiescence to the principle of nondiscrimination in job classifieds is not enough; a positive affirmative action message is necessary. Expanded research on the effects of other recruitment practices are needed to indicate further directions for action.

New studies of the changing pool of recruits available for different kinds of jobs are needed. For instance, we must have some understanding of routes to jobs other than the traditional educational ladder. What apprenticeship systems are attached to what occupations?

Research is also required on how pools of eligible women candidates for academic and other high-status professional jobs are constructed (Graham, 1970). As one possibility, faculty women might undertake studies on their own initiative. For instance, Betty Kirschner (Kent State University) conducted a study of social scientists that developed from a survey designed to identify the numbers of women, blacks, and other minorities in the Ohio Valley and to ascertain the numbers employed and terminated during the previous decade. The study depended upon an informal information network to help locate these groups and thus accomplished two goals: the development of such a network whereby members could make contact with one another, and the creation of a pool of qualified individuals not otherwise tapped.

A related area that merits special attention is the recruitment and training of women for technical, engineering, and scientific jobs. Employers often complain that eligible women are not available for senior positions, but this may be a self-fulfilling prophecy. Who does the recruiting and where? How do employers assess merit in hiring women? To what extent are they prepared to depart from traditional credentials requirements? One view is that all the rosters and referrals in the world will do little good unless men can learn how to "read" women's lives as they appear on resumés. All too often, the typical entries (years spent in research associateships and part-time lectureships, and—worst of all—gaps and empty spaces) are interpreted as defects in capacity or commitment.

Recruiting women into high level careers in science and engineering is of high priority. Should the government encourage women to enroll in these fields by earmarking fellowships and grants specifically for them? One possible strategy would be to reorganize the curriculum so that the history of science and technology are included in history courses (with proper recognition of women's contributions to these fields) at both the high school and college level. The National Academy of Sciences, the Museum of Natural History, and other national organizations might work with the various scientific professional associations to develop material appropriate for such courses. Should the federal government sponsor such a reorganization of the curriculum? How should federal, state, or local agencies participate in funding such efforts?

What can be done about training women for technologically based jobs that may not require college degrees? In-service training or apprenticeship programs might help to attract women into such jobs. How should the costs of such training be divided between the federal and state governments, the educational system, and the employer?

The recruitment and training of women might be considerably facilitated if liaison between the world of work and the educational system were improved. Administrators, teachers, and counselors need to have up-to-date information on current employment opportunities and job requirements; they must have guidance in interpreting employment trends. Could work-study programs that mutually benefit prospective workers and prospective employers be supported by government funds distributed through state or federal manpower agencies? What collaborative efforts might be made by local school systems and local employers? What incentives would induce them to consider such cooperation?

Issues Relating to Specific Types of Jobs

Women tend to cluster in low-status and marginal jobs, working as domestic servants and menials, as office workers and secretaries, as retail sales clerks. A few are employed in blue-collar jobs, many work in the so-called semi-professions, and a smaller number hold high status professional jobs, particularly in academe. Each of these types of occupations has its own special problems.

An economic analysis of women's work—paid and unpaid—is needed, since many questions related to problem assessment and policy making arise from the unexamined, undifferentiated, low status of domestics, hotel maids, clean-up women in office buildings, and others engaged in menial work. This group of workers is composed chiefly of minority women, particularly blacks. In 1969, one in every five employed black women worked as a domestic. If more middle class women join the labor force, the number of minority domestics may well increase. On the other hand, as more opportunities open up for all women many minority women may find better paying jobs than domestic service. What implications does this have for the participation of both middle-class women and household workers in the women's movement? What can be done to upgrade domestic service?

Most women employed in the manufacturing sector hold semiskilled jobs in the production of nondurable goods (e.g., clothing), although more women are now entering the skilled trades. Pamela Roby (forthcoming), of the University of California at Santa Cruz, reviews the historical literature and the new research on blue-collar women workers comprehensively.

Any discussion of working-class women leads inevitably to the issue of women in unions. Women employed in blue-collar jobs are usually members of the appropriate trade and craft unions, but even though one in five women workers is a union member, women are conspicuously absent from the union hierarchy. Cornell University's Metropolitan District of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations has been investigating the obstacles that prevent women from participating more fully in union activities and thereby taking leadership roles. More recently, activist women's caucuses have developed within the established unions, and the United Union Women's Caucus was successful in enlisting the support of the AFL-CIO for the Equal Rights Amendment (Seifer, 1973). Studies of the characteristics of activist women within the established union structure would help to show how such activists can affect the decision-making process within the union hierarchies.

Despite the evidence that union women make about $1,500 more per year than their nonunion counterparts, many women—notably office workers and members of the traditionally "female" professions (e.g., social work, elementary and high school teaching) have resisted unionization (Cole, 1969; Corwin, 1970; Etzioni, 1969; Mills, 1951; Ziegler, 1966, 1967). But recent efforts at unionizing women in nursing indicates that attitudes may be changing (Oleson, 1973). What data are needed to assess possible opportunities for women in unions? (See Davis, 1966; Etzioni, 1969; Schiller, 1974; Toren, 1972.)

Women in high-status professional occupations—in academe and elsewhere—have been studied and written about extensively, but more work is needed on their career patterns, on the structural barriers that impede their progress, and on the effects they have on the institutions (collegiate, business, or whatever) that employ them.

Cynthia Fuchs Epstein (CUNY, Queens) is interested in the tracking pattern in high status occupations. To find what patterns exist, one must carry out longitudinal studies of women now entering such occupations. Among the questions to be answered by such studies are: Do women become permanent tokens (Laws, 1972), or are they phased out? What about rotating entry? When tokenism and rotating entry are the usual practices, do women become cynical and apathetic? One way of answering the last question is simply to compare the expectations, attitudes, and motivations of the same women at different points in time.

Research tells us that, whether in academia or in business/industry, a widespread, informal network exists whereby advancement and promotion are controlled. How can this system be studied more effectively? How do women become part of this network, and what happens to them if they do? Is success always satisfying? How do their male sponsors feel about their success? How do other women feel? How is the behavior of the women who espouse a liberal feminist ideology related to their expressed attitudes? In particular, we should look at the career patterns of two kinds of women—those who pioneer against sexism in their field, and those who achieve success and become leaders in their field. In the case of the former, what happens to these women? Are the women who speak out first always sacrificed? Is there a discernible pattern with respect to the obstacles that they face? In the case of the latter—the women who become leaders—what problems do they face, and how do they overcome them? (See Bernard, 1966, 1973; Davidson and Koenig, 1973; Fidell and DeLamater, 1973; Kundsin, 1973; Lopate, 1971; Rossi, 1973; Theodore, 1971.)

To understand the nature and extent of the obstacles that women in high-level jobs face, it is necessary to analyze the hierarchical structure of the various professions, most of which are stratified by sex. What happens to the profession when women attain high positions within that structure? Are institutions (whether educational or business) changing under the impact of new recruitment procedures and different personnel structures? As more women come to play key roles, do the commitments of a business or a discipline alter? What happens when the "male club" is invaded? Is there a pattern of cooptation or of adaptation to new demands? Finally, how are new Ph.D.'s—male and female—absorbed into the labor force? What happens to the social system if highly trained people are increasingly underemployed? To understand this problem, it might be useful to compare women in higher education with women executives in business and in labor unions.

Two final categories of jobs deserve attention—temporary employment and part-time employment. Since the end of World War II, the temporary help industry has burgeoned and is now estimated to employ from 1.5 to 3 million people, most of them female office workers. Although many temporaries register with these agencies only as a stop-gap measure while seeking permanent jobs, others work as temporaries by choice, preferring freedom of movement and flexible scheduling (Oleson, forthcoming). Nonetheless, many feel dissatisfied because they get no fringe benefits such as paid sick leave or vacation time and because the agency takes a large cut of the wages paid by the employer. The few studies of temporaries suffer the limitation of small sample sizes. Further and more extensive data on these women are needed—particularly in terms of the role they play in the local labor market—to see how much justification there is to the charge that they are being exploited as a kind of "urban migrant worker" (Cadrain, 1974; Gannon, 1974).

Women who work on a permanent but part-time basis also deserve investigation (Greenwald, 1972). How many such positions are available, and in what job settings? Who are the women who work at part-time jobs, and what are their reasons for doing so? Part-time work has obvious advantages for the mothers of young children. If the family moves in the direction of more egalitarian child care, with the father contributing his share, part-time employment arrangements for men may become more widely accepted. Indeed, we need to learn much more about all the various alternatives to the present work structure, including flexible scheduling of all kinds (e.g., the four-day work week).

VI. MARITAL STATUS AND FAMILY

Although women bear and nurse the children, their role in childrearing is to some degree a product of sociocultural and technological (as well as biological) factors and thus is susceptible to change (Rosaldo and Lamphere, 1974). Moreover, the twin beliefs that a woman's place is in the home and that her basic functions are those of wife and mother are oversimplified (ignoring differences in the life styles and problems of women at different socioeconomic levels) and incomplete (overlooking the unmarried, the divorced, the widowed, as well as the woman who must function as a single parent). Serious questions are coming from all sides—radicals and conservatives, religious leaders and revolutionaries, feminists and traditionalists—about the viability of the family and about its future. Not all the forecasts are gloomy. What new forms of, or adaptations to, family life are emerging? And how are these new forms influencing and being influenced by the changing roles of women? (Bernard, 1971a, 1972, 1973; Epstein, 1971; Holmstrom, 1972; Howe, 1972; Lipman-Blumen, 1974, forthcoming; Lopata. 1971; Weil, 1971.) This section considers (1) the family in socioeconomic context, (2) marriage, including some of its new forms, (3) divorce, (4) singlehood, and (5) parenting.

The Family in Socioeconomic Context

A closer look at the connections between the overall economic structure, the family, and women's position in our society is needed. How are relations between husbands and wives and between parents and children affected by a particular society's views on ownership of property, production of goods, and rights to those goods? For instance, would having extra goods affect the division of labor between men and women? Would it affect the way in which children are treated? Some evidence suggests that, in American society, money and goods are used to influence children and to buy their affection (Aries, 1962; Bettelheim, 1969; Bronfenbrenner and Condry, 1970). To what extent is this true at various socioeconomic levels?

Individual family analysis across various sectors of the population is also needed (Astin, 1969; Ginzberg et al., 1966; Komarovsky, 1962; Safilios-Rothschild, 1974). Catherine Bodard Silver (CUNY, Brooklyn) believes that there are many differences, depending on social class, in how women spend their time at work and at leisure. Are there differences by race as well? We might postulate, for instance, that black women spend more time in church-related activities whereas white women are more active in charitable and health drives. What are the differences, by social class and race, in leisure activities directed chiefly at entertainment (e.g., watching television, reading, going to movies, socializing with friends)? To what extent does educational level override race and socioeconomic background?

The issues involved in budget management might also be studied, and the findings that emerge compared with data already collected in France—for instance, by Andree Michel (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris).

Various aspects of family life in this nation have been studied in some detail (e.g., Bernard, 1972; Blood and Wolfe, 1960; Fuchs, 1972), with particular emphasis on the woman's function, whether as working wife/mother (Callahan, 1971; Nye and Hoffman, 1963; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971) or as homemaker exclusively (Gavron, 1966; Lopata, 1971; Tindal, 1971). However

excellent, many of these studies have, for instance, samples such as upper-middle-class white families or families from a restricted geographical area and thus need extension and replication with other groups. Moreover, times change rapidly, so many of these studies may need updating.

Women at the Poverty Level. Considerable statistical information on the demography, income, and employment of women at the poverty level and on welfare is available, much of it from government sources (e.g., U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1974b). But we need to know more about how various public assistance programs, most notably Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), affect the family. Legal researchers should address themselves to investigating agency compliance with existing laws against sex discrimination with particular attention to the problems of poor women. Are the regulations for monitoring agency compliance adequate? What informal bureaucratic pressures impede the implementation of antidiscrimination laws? Do agency employees tend to organize their work so as to please their superiors (and minimize cost to themselves) at the expense of service to clients? Some existing studies suggest that the AFDC regulations forbidding aid when a man is in residence have unfavorable consequences for family life and female independence (Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1958). Can pilot projects, with built-in evaluation requirements, be established to weigh the efficiency and practicability of alternative programs? What indicators of cost effectiveness can be applied to innovative programs so as to reassure budget-conscious county, state, and federal administrators? (See U.S. Joint Economic Committee, Congress, 1968.)

Working-Class Women. The working class in America is often regarded as conservative socially and politically. Is this an oversimplification? To what extent do working class families reflect traditional values in such matters as marriage, sex roles within the family, and child-rearing? Lillian Rubin (the Wright Institute, Berkeley, California) has pointed out that working-class wives often choose to stay at home and raise their children and thus are unaware of many women's liberation issues. Considering the outside jobs available to them, these women may find the task of homemaker infinitely preferable. Studies are needed to document and explain this choice from the point of view of the women. For instance, how do they see their work and family roles? Do various ethnic groups among the blue collars (e.g., Polish-American, Irish-American) differ in their views on these issues? Even simple attitude studies would provide more information than is now available. As a first step, an updating of Komarovsky's *Blue-Collar Marriage* (1964) would be helpful. (See also Beer, 1957; Klein, 1965; Ladner, 1971; Rubin, forthcoming.)

Middle-Class Women. Paradoxically, though much of the literature from the women's movement deals, at least implicitly, with the middle-class woman—her image, values, and exploited status—studies of specific sectors of the population tend to focus on the extremes: the poverty-level woman or the professional woman. Yet most of the women in the country belong to the middle class and, if they work, are employed in ordinary white-collar jobs such as secretary or saleselerk. We need to know more about these women as a group and, in particular, about how they may have changed in recent years. Does the prototypal suburban housewife delineated in the literature still exist? What are her attitudes toward her marriage, her family, herself? To what extent has she been influenced by the women's movement? How does she spend her time, particularly after her children are in school: working on a full- or part-time basis? continuing her education? doing volunteer work?

We might want to examine the recent phenomenon of fugitive children—largely from upper-middle-class families—from the standpoint of these women. What role, if any, does the woman play in creating the teenage runaway? What are her responses to the crisis of running away?

Women in High-Status Occupations. We know much about professionalization but little about its interpersonal consequences. What stresses and strains is the dual-career family subject to, both in husband-wife relations (especially in situations where the wife earns more than the husband) and in relations between parents and children? What information can research give to young married couples embarking on careers (with particular life styles attached) so as to ease interpersonal tensions? Intensive longitudinal studies of couples belonging to a variety of family patterns are required to answer such questions. If early

retirement for professionals becomes commonplace, how will family life be affected? How are the children affected by having a mother who achieves in her profession? (See Astin, 1969; Bernard, 1966; Epstein, 1971; Etzioni, 1969; Garland and Poloma, 1971; Holmstrom, 1972; Lopata, 1971; Papanek, 1973; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971; Rossi, 1973d; Simon et al., 1967; Theodore, 1971.)

Minority Women. Race and ethnicity cut across socioeconomic lines to a considerable extent and merit separate treatment. Various studies examine marriage and family life among blacks (e.g., Bernard, 1966; Frazier, 1951; Staples, 1971), but more extensive treatment of other racial/ethnic groups—e.g., Chicanos, American Indians, Puerto Ricans, Orientals—is needed. What special stresses is the family subjected to in each of these groups? How far are the stresses a function of economic factors? One might speculate, for instance, that the family retains a strength among Spanish speaking minorities because of the influence of the Roman Catholic church. But what of American Indians, who have also come under that influence? For each of the subgroups, is the tendency with respect to sex roles in marriage toward the traditional, the egalitarian, or some other form? How do child-rearing practices compare with those of the middle-class white? What image do women in these groups have of themselves—as family members and as workers (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1974a)?

Marriage

The Judeo- Christian ideal of marriage as a commitment that involves both permanence and exclusivity has in recent decades come to seem more the exception than the rule. Divorce rates continue to rise. As early as 1929, Bertrand Russell argued that a true and rationally based marriage permitted outside sexual relations; since then extramarital affairs have become commonplace if not socially approved. More recently, new forms of marriage—in the sense of more or less stable commitments between or among human beings—have received serious attention. For instance, group marriage involving anything from a ménage-à-trois to a free-love pattern among members of a commune—has been proposed as a sensible and meaningful alternative (Constantine and Constantine, 1973). Just how widespread and how workable is this form of marriage? Veysey (1974) suggests that our national emphasis on individualism and freedom of self-expression is too strong for enduring group commitments to communal life. Bernard (1972) maintains that most group marriages, while giving lip service to egalitarianism, in actuality are sexist. Case studies of such multilateral marriages might provide further evidence.

Returning to more conventional arrangements, we may ask whether the trend toward companionate, or "shared-role," marriages is a strong one in our society. Under what conditions do such marriages succeed or fail? What are the divisions of responsibility for housework and child care? What are the formal and informal decision-making processes? How satisfied is each partner with the egalitarian marriage? Again, in-depth longitudinal studies are required to answer such questions (Cuber, 1966; Fullerton, 1972; Giele, 1971; Hower, 1972; Lopata, 1971; Poloma and Garland, 1971; Scanzoni, 1972).

Divorce

Divorce, while obviously related to the topics of marriage and of singlehood, warrants separate consideration because it is complicated by political and emotional issues and because it involves complex legal questions. Here is an area where legal researchers and social scientists can collaborate in designing and pursuing studies (Weitzman et al., 1974). Many states have enacted, or are considerating, no-fault divorce. Further changes in divorce laws, affecting property settlements, may be expected after passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. But will these changes result in a more equitable situation? Even under existing law, we do not know enough about how closely actual practice follows formal regulations. What is the relation between social patterns and the law?

Nor do we know much about the emotional impact of divorce on the men and women involved. Pioneer work on how divorce and legal separation are managed has been undertaken by Goode (1956), Bohannon (1970), and Weiss (forthcoming). What support networks are available to each partner after

divorce? Only after their common—and distinct—problems are identified can the most equitable types of divorce settlements be formulated.

Beyond the effect of divorce laws on divorce rates—which is what lawyers study—how does divorce affect the structure of the family? We need specific data on the following questions:

(1) Do current laws really favor women in divorce, particularly with respect to property settlement?
(2) If so, will no-fault divorce put women at a disadvantage?
(3) In establishing new divorce legislation, will the courts create custom or legitimize a fait accompli?
(4) To what extent are requirements for child support actually met?
(5) What factors account for noncompliance with family support decrees by some fathers?

Efforts to achieve equity through no-fault divorce may only perpetuate existing inequities in the society. If no-fault divorce is to be truly equitable, property laws may have to change. Richard Criswell (Vanderbilt Law School) is now studying this problem.

Singlehood

Closely connected with divorce is the plight of the single parent, who is often a divorced woman (though, of course, the unmarried mother who raises her child also belongs in this category). What support systems exist to aid the single mother not only in the practical but also in the emotional aspects of bringing up a child by herself? For example, the lower-class single mother may have friendship groups to support her when family and paid services are unavailable. In addition, the black community may accept single parenthood more readily than the white community. How do these differences—and others related to socioeconomic level and race—relate to the kinds of problems faced by single parents and the responses they make? *MOMMA*, a newspaper and a single parents' organization in Los Angeles, is designed to help the single mother. What other formal organizations exist? One approach to looking at these problems is suggested by the work of Nancy Stoller Shaw (University of California at Santa Cruz), who has studied sex roles and specialization in child care settings. Can this research be applied to women in other situations?

The single woman without dependents—whether she is someone who has never married, a divorced woman, or a widow—also merits study. Margaret Adams (forthcoming) writes about the stresses that single people experience because of their deviance in a married society and about the compensatory supports available to them. For instance, the terms *old maid* and *spinster* are both highly derogatory and almost invariably coupled with *neurotic*, although statistical evidence indicates that, relative to other groups, never-married women rank high in mental health. What is the status and image of never-married women today? Are there differences in the degree to which they are accepted by different racial/ethnic groups and at different socioeconomic levels? Have attitudes toward them changed recently, and if so, what factors contributed to the change? What range of alternatives in life styles is available to them? For instance, we might hypothesize that the woman who does not marry is "excused" this deviance if, when young, she shows strong commitment to a professional career and, when older, she is highly successful in that career. Other topics that merit investigation include:

(1) the needs and emotional reactions of recently divorced women;
(2) the situation of divorced mothers who do not (as was once customary) take custody of the children, and the effects of this arrangement upon the children;
(3) the supports available to single women from such sources as feminist groups and counseling centers;
(4) the achievement orientation of never-married women;
(5) suicide rates among single women;
(6) the role models that strengthen unmarried mothers who keep their children;
(7) the problems faced by young widows; and
(8) the problems faced by older widows (problems complicated by the plight of the aged generally in our society).

Finally, how do single women, of whichever category, apportion their time; do they have fewer problems than, say, working wives in arranging their schedules? (See O'Brien, 1973; Taves, 1968.)

Parenting

Child rearing involves many complicated questions. What do children really need at various stages of their lives? For example, it would seem that they do not require attention from the same mother figure all day long; research is needed to test this possibility.

We know very little about parenting, as opposed to either mothering or fathering. Boocock (1973), Bourne (1971), Roby (1973), and Rowe (1972) have discussed research and social policy in establishing day care centers, and their work points directions that future research might take.

From Philip Wylie to Philip Roth, the dangers to children of excessive mothering have been denounced. More empirically, Pauline Bart (1970) and Jessie Bernard (1974) have discussed some of its deleterious effects on mothers. We need to know more about maternal *over*-preoccupation. Among what groups of women is it most common? For example, welfare mothers may provide examples of women whose chief activity is the care of children under difficult circumstances, isolated from any alternative activity that might give them a sense of purpose and self-esteem (Eddington, 1973). Similarly, nonworking wives of the middle class, conditioned to believe in the supremacy of motherhood, may overdo it. What happens to the children in such circumstances? Just as important, what happens to the mother, particularly after the children are grown?

The father's influence in child care needs investigation. What aspects of child care do fathers take upon themselves? Are there differences—by race, socio-economic level, and educational level—in the attitudes and actual behavior of fathers toward their children? For instance, we might speculate that blue-collar husbands have less to do with child care on the grounds that it is woman's work. Or it may be that the professional, career-oriented male tends to neglect his children. But what will empirical investigation show?

Recent emphasis upon greater egalitarianism in child care—with mothers and fathers taking equal responsibility—raises the question of how far expressed attitudes coincide with actual practice. What happens to children reared in truly egalitarian fashion, with boys and girls treated in the same way? Can the "new" species of egalitarian children be studied systematically?

More generally, parenting raises other questions about the process of socialization (Chafetz, 1974; Chodorow, 1974; Hochschild, 1973a; Hoffman, 1972; Sells, 1972). Does early socialization affect the child's idea of what a woman is and what she does? Studies that compare the attitudes of children in homes where women do and do not work would be helpful in answering this question (Lipman-Blumen, 1972; Nye and Hoffman, 1963). How do communal patterns of child rearing affect socialization? Cross-cultural studies are particularly useful here (Berger et al., 1971, 1974; Bettelheim, 1969; Spiro, 1958). Investigation of these issues would demonstrate the importance of two kinds of research, one emphasizing identification and understanding of past inequities, and the other providing more viable models for the future (Bart, 1971; Giele, 1971, 1972a, 1972b).

VII. HEALTH AND LIFE CYCLE ISSUES

With the rise of the women's movement, concern over a variety of issues relating to health, medical care, and biology has grown. Now that the Freudian dictum "anatomy is destiny" has been challenged, it becomes more important to answer some basic questions about the essential differences between men and women, in their development over a lifetime and in their biological rhythms. We need to know as well how various occupational health hazards may differentially affect the sexes. Women may be disadvantaged because an assumption of their inherent "weakness" has led to inadequate provision of physical training. Moreover, medical practices need reform, resting as they do upon questionable

assumptions and biased attitudes about the physical and mental health of women. In recent years, feminists critical of the current system have led a grassroots women's health movement that deserves special attention not only because it has stimulated outstanding research (particularly by people outside the establishment) but also because it represents a successful action program. (See Alleyn, 1972; Boston Women's Health Book Collective, 1974; Ehrenreich and English, n.d.; Frankfort, 1973; Health PAC, 1972; Ruzek, 1974; Seaman, 1972.)

Biological Differences

One area meriting further exploration is that of biological differences between men and women (Maccoby, 1966). Money and Ehrhardt's work on dimorphism and gender identity (1973) provides outstanding direction for further research. In addition, Ann Reynolds (University of Illinois Medical School) is interested in problems of sexual dismorphism, particularly in sex differences as they relate to cyclicity as well as to nutritional needs. Infant boys and girls differ in their food requirements both before and after birth. More male babies are conceived, but more are also spontaneously aborted and more die in infancy. Do males have greater nutritive demands in utero? What biological factors account for their higher infant mortality rate?

Life Cycle Phenomena

Most work on human development concentrates on infancy, childhood, and adolescence, apparently on the belief that once a person reaches adulthood, personal development stops. But the growing tendency in our society for people to make drastic changes—for instance, in career—during the middle years indicates that this concept is inadequate. Thus, we need studies that consider the entire life cycle (Giele, 1972a, 1973a). Only through such longitudinal research can enough information be collected to determine whether changes in personality and attitudes are possible after the early formative period. What kinds of crises do adults experience? How are these related to biological changes? to external circumstances? What are the incentives, at various stages in the life cycle, for personal growth (Clemente, 1973)? Esther Westervelt (Goshen, New York) urges comprehensive and controlled study of the many factors influencing the differential development of men and women. If a differential pattern emerges, how great a role does biology play? How great a role does family status play? (See Wiseman, forthcoming.)

Job-Related Health Problems

Many neglected questions about occupational safety and health hazards deserve attention. For instance, "jet lag" has become a familiar complaint among air travelers. How does it affect people who are continually subjected to it? Estelle Ramey (Georgetown University Medical School) interviewed stewardesses who complained of the rigors of travel across time zones without sufficient time off for recovery. Studies comparing those who cross time zones with those who do not would indicate the effects of this phenomenon on circadian rhythms. One purpose of such study could be to determine whether crossing time zones causes irregular menstrual cycles. Such a study should include a large sample to permit concentration on highly specialized problems. Sleeplessness, for example, may affect the menstrual cycle since it is dependent on the central nervous system as well as on hormonal balance. What happens to those women who cross time zones and also take birth control pills? How often do these women have head colds and other illnesses? In addition to what might be learned about the effects of time-zone change on bodily functions, medically firm data might be used in support of the demands of stewardesses for better working conditions.

Much attention has been given lately to previously unrecognized health hazards connected with working in particular industrial settings and with particular materials (asbestos, for instance) (Scott, 1974). It is probably safe to assume that most of the women who work in such settings are from lower-income backgrounds and minority groups. Are they as prone as men to these occupational diseases? Indeed, industrial health and safety conditions for women generally need study (Wallick, 1972). Because protective legislation for one sex is generally outlawed by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, model legislation needs to be researched and developed. (Roby, forthcoming.) What can

be done to assure that all workers—men and women—are covered by adequate safety and health regulations? What can be done to assure governmental enforcement of existing regulations?

A third area needing further examination is that of stress-related diseases: stroke, high blood pressure, coronary diseases, ulcers, and cancer. As more women move into the labor force for longer periods of employment, and as a few move into high-powered executive positions, the incidence of these diseases among women may increase. Are women more or less susceptible than men? What can be done to prevent or alleviate these diseases?

Physical Fitness Training

Studies of the physical health of adolescent girls suggest that traditional athletic programs are ineffective. What changes might be made in such programs to bring about improvements in the generally deplorable picture? Germaine Greer (1970) discusses some of the possible consequences of females' receiving the same physical training as males. An increase in women's physical capacity would almost certainly affect their relations with men. For instance, they would be in better competitive positions for certain jobs that demand strength, and their potential as victims (e.g., of rape) would be reduced. (See Holmstrom and Burgess, 1974; Russell, 1975.)

Another issue in physical education is the increasing discontent among women about paying high school and college athletics fees which go almost exclusively to support men's sports (Abzug, 1974). Under Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, all educational institutions receiving federal funds (as virtually all do) must not discriminate between men and women in the provision of opportunities to participate in any activity or program of the institution. Among other things, this provision applies to sports activities and programs. Opposition on the campuses to this requirement is widespread, particularly in the area of intercollegiate sports. What are the alternative means by which equality in athletics might be implemented? Once implemented, what impact will such equality have on the image of women—as they see themselves, as their male contemporaries see them, as the public-at-large sees them?

Medical Care

One focal point in the women's health movement is the adequacy of present health care for women. There is growing criticism of the traditional medical model in the treatment of women, particulary those who are "well" rather than "ill" when seeking care. That this constitutes a significant social and political issue is evidenced by the volume and scope of the research literature analyzing the present model and suggesting alternatives to it. Out of this concern, women have become increasingly involved in their own health care (Lorber, forthcoming; Ruzek, 1975). Such involvement occurs both in tradtional settings and in self-help groups and free clinics where lay women are often equal partners in, or even replacements for, medical professionals in routine treatment situations. A full description of the various alternatives and an evaluation of their effectiveness would be useful.

The quality of care and research on health problems that are exclusively female—menstrual difficulties, contraception, abortion, sterilization, pregnancy, childbirth, and menopause—is of particular concern (Boston Women's Health Book Collective, 1973). Women are increasingly resistant to traditional views of what constitutes appropriate delivery and postpartum care (Shaw, 1974). Similarly, they are uneasy over the possibility that many unnecessary hysterectomies and mastectomies are performed each year and that many surgeons seem indifferent, or even opposed, to the increasingly definitive research on the controversial efficacy of radical mastectomy compared with less mutilating modes of treatment (Crile, 1973).

Controversy over drugs centers largely on the safety of oral contraceptives and on the propensity of physicians to prescribe mood-altering drugs without thoroughly investigating somatic complaints (Lennane and Lennane, 1973; Prather and Fidell, 1973; Seidenberg, 1971; Seaman, 1969). Women also question their use as "guinea pigs" in medical research without their knowledge and informed consent (Ruzek, 1975). How accurate are these various charges? What steps can be taken to abate such criticism: changes in the traditional medical school curricula? wider diffusion of feminist-oriented clinics?

Mental Health Care

Traditional models of psychotherapy (based on Freud, Jung, and others), and the image of women that many psychotherapists hold as a result, have drawn strong protest. Many women report feeling aggrieved or even harmed by the treatment they receive under these models from "sexist" therapists. One response has been the establishment of alternatives in "radical" or "feminist" therapy (Bart, 1971; Broverman et al., 1970; Cambridge-Goddard Graduate School, 1972; Chesler, 1972; Miller, 1973). Women have also rebelled against the traditional view of female sexuality. (See, for example, Gordon and Shankweiler, 1971; Laws, 1973; Scully and Bart, 1973; Seaman, 1972; Sherfey, 1966.) Research is needed on the extent and type of discontent generated by these traditional modes of therapy (Laws, n.d.a.). Also needed is a survey of consumer-oriented feminist therapy collectives and referral groups that are rapidly spreading in urban areas. Do the organizing strategies involve uniting patients with sympathetic feminist therapists and teachers of therapy in situations other than treatment centers? How successful are these new types of therapeutic groups in treating patients?

Just as a better organization between patients and therapists is possible, so is a drastic reorganization of the therapy profession. The existing professional organization of training institutions and certifying associations, however, is not likely to accept reorganization easily. What strategies and what sets of data might influence curriculum committees and faculty appointments to reflect feminist concerns? How can the professional associations be induced to permit certification of recognized lay therapists? If such changes come to pass, they will affect recruitment, training, and certification in the therapy professions. Many issues beyond the women's movement—such as social control and social change in the occupational structure—are involved here.

VIII. OTHER ISSUES OF PRACTICAL CONCERN TO WOMEN

So far, this report has covered most of the major areas of women's lives. There remain a number of issues that touch many women and that have received attention from feminist writers. They are: (1) the world of finance, (2) volunteerism, (3) politics, (4) continuing education, (5) new and late careers, and (6) old age.

The World of Finance

Although women are thought to play a central role in the nation's economy—not only as consumers but also as property owners, borrowers, and stockholders—the world of finance is regarded as a "no-woman's-land," a male preserve. The 1972 Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll showed that women have very little control over their own money; for instance, most married women hold property or stocks and bonds not in their own names but in joint ownership with their husbands; moreover, most defer to their husbands in making major financial decisions in the family. Single women are in a highly disadvantaged position when borrowing money or even opening credit accounts. Women need to become much better acquainted with the world of finance, to be made aware of inequities in the treatment of the sexes in credit and banking, investments, and insurance. Research is needed to consider and evaluate alternative plans for equalization. For example, how do current social security laws affect housewives? What will be the consequences of changes in laws concerning taxable income, deductions for child care, and nonreimbursed expenditures for volunteer work?

Volunteerism

The woman volunteer, long a part of the American scene, has in recent years widened her interests and commitments. Pressing doorbells for local charities, rolling bandages for the Red Cross, and stuffing envelopes for a political candidate have given way to a much broader range of activities, such as working with children in the inner city, serving in docent programs at museums and zoos,

lobbying against pollution. The common image of the volunteer worker is of a middle-aged, upper-middle-class matron with time on her hands, flowers on her hat, and charity in her heart. But this image is incomplete. Many young women, including college students, and many older working women engage in volunteer work as well. Large-scale surveys should provide a profile of these women and of the kinds of activities they pursue.

Volunteerism is one type of women's work that is not considered as part of the Gross National Product. It would be helpful to undertake an economic analysis of it from that perspective. Is personal staisfaction the only reward for volunteer work? Or does it have more tangible benefits, such as providing opportunities for social mobility, experience, and contacts that may lead to entry into the world of paid work? Common sense suggests that volunteer work is a mixed bag of opportunities and dead-end busywork. Ethnographic studies of the diverse worlds encountered in volunteer work should provide more information on these questions. It seems likely that such studies would reveal the existence of a power elite in volunteerism, a group of women who exert considerable influence in their communities and perhaps even in the larger society. Serious studies of these women remain to be undertaken. The Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers is currently offering grants to researchers who want to study the effect of volunteers on politics. (See also Daniels et al., 1974; Eriksson-Joslyn, 1973-74; Gold, 1971; Loeser, 1974; Moore, 1961, 1962; Smith and Freedman, 1972.)

As noted earlier, male-oriented social scientists have generally ignored exclusively female areas of activity. The clubwoman and the churchwoman would be excellent subjects for research into the unexamined and unrecorded patterns of female life (Ginzberg et al., 1966; Lopata, 1971). The proponents of women's studies and women's history have long argued that such parts of our past have been systematically neglected and that only fragmentary records of female-oriented activities exist. Such omissions should be rectified. (See Scott and Scott, forthcoming, for an analysis of the part women played in the fight for suffrage.)

Politics

It is often asserted that women in the United States are politically conservative, but is this really the case? The Virginia Slims 1972 survey showed that men and women differed very little in party affiliation (50 percent registered Democrats, 31 percent registered Republicans) and that women were more likely to describe themselves as conservative or right wing than as radical or left wing. Moreover, women express more interest in domestic than in foreign affairs. Women may well be issue-oriented rather than party- or dogma-oriented. More precise and detailed studies of women's political attitudes are needed to determine in what areas women are conservative or liberal and to identify the demographic and background characteristics related to these attitudes. For instance, evidence suggests that a kind of liberal coalition among women exists comprising the young, the single, the black, the college-educated, and the affluent.

The recent off-year elections resulted in relatively large numbers of women elected to office, particularly at the state and local levels. One study that might serve as a model for further research is Shelah Leader's analysis (1974) of women candidates in the 1973 New Jersey state legislative race. The career patterns of women elected to political office in the United States and in other countries also deserve attention. What about the participation of women in such nonpartisan political organizations as the League of Women Voters and Common Cause? (See Amundsen, 1971; Chafe, 1972.)

Continuing Education

One of the most exciting recent developments in postsecondary education is the influx of large numbers of "new" or "atypical" students, including older women returning to school after a long break for child bearing and rearing (Campbell, 1973). Many institutions are trying to accommodate the special needs of these women by offering opportunities to obtain the bachelor's or master's degree on a part-time basis, by providing special counseling and guidance services, by making use of special techniques (e.g., television courses) to reach the house-bound woman. Accounts of especially successful programs

might help to stimulate more institutions to offer opportunities to older women—and might encourage more women to take advantage of these opportunities. We need information not only about the women currently enrolled in such programs—their backgrounds, goals, and progress—but also about the women who might be involved if they could be reached and if more programs were available to them.

New and Late Careers

Many of the women who have returned to education for a college degree or for job training are entering the labor force. How successful are they in finding jobs, and at what level? In addition, more people—both men and women—are making major career changes in mid-life. Margaret Cussler (Unversity of Maryland) wants to study those women who have made successful career changes after age 40, comparing them with men in this category on whom data have already been collected.

As more trained women become available, pressure will be brought to bear upon business and industry to give new and better jobs to women. What kinds of "carrot" legislation can be enacted to reward corporations for changing those aspects of their structure that currently work to exclude women and for placing women in previously male-dominated positions?

With the implementation of affirmative action programs, new jobs may open at the state and local level. A clearinghouse of information is needed to help place women in these jobs. Phyllis Wallace (MIT) suggests that both the academic and private business sectors need to develop liaisons with the Civil Service Commission. With a common data base, the Commission might help in the goal of placing women in new jobs.

Old Age

The hardships faced by the aged in our society have received considerable attention recently. Ellen Robin (Western Michigan State) is interested in the problems of older women, particular black women and widows. With men dying younger than ever in the black population, what is happening to black women (Almquist, 1973)?

How do states differ with respect to their old age programs? How widespread are successful retirement communities such as those described by Hochschild (1973b)? Lopata's recent study (1973) of widowhood in a large American city suggests some of the problems facing people at this stage in the life cycle.

IX. CONCLUSION

Several writers have recently reviewed needed research on women's issues. Epstein (1974) examines a number of research issues in social science worthy of further attention. In a report to The Ford Foundation, Giele (forthcoming) analyzes major topics and suggests directions for future policy on research and action programs. Knowles (1973) summarizes research projects funded by philanthropic organizations and offers an estimate of their future commitment to funding women's projects. All three of these reports signal not only a general interest in women's issues among researchers but also a desire to develop a more integrated approach, an overall framework within which individual endeavors can be placed in perspective. This effort to mount a concerted attack is far from complete, however, partly because of the complexity of the issues involved and partly because few recources (in money, time, or womanpower) have as yet been allocated to the task.

Within various government agencies and private foundations, interest in research on women's issues is increasing. But the selection of projects to be funded may be inextricably bound up with the sex of those who make the decisions about what topics should have priority. And in most federal granting agencies and private foundations, it is men who administer the research programs, who invite proposals, who sit on study councils and peer review boards to consider applications for grants. It is this inequity that motivated Julia Apter and others to bring suit against the Department of Health, Education, and

Welfare. Apter pointed out one revealing fact: in the index on research grants, the entry under "Female" says "See Sex Differences"; and the sex differences referred to are those of female rats and worms. She adds: "At the National Institutes of Health, . . . research projects on women are not even listed. This shows a lack of attention to diseases of vital concern for women. It may be that when men on the advisory councils referee some projects, for example a project for studying self-abortion, they cannot talk about it."

Given this background, it seems clear that not until greater numbers of women occupy decision-making positions within funding agencies and on advisory and review boards will research priorities change significantly. This change implies, in turn, greater participation and leadership from women within the various professional disciplines. Some members of the Association of Women in Science (AWIS) find it curious that, in the natural sciences, women do not study their own professions with these problems in mind. Neena Schwartz (Northwestern University) and Estelle Ramey (Georgetown University School of Medicine) wish to study endocrinologists and hope that women in other scientific fields will do the same in their specialties. Such studies could provide insights that would help women to analyze the weaknesses and strengths of the structure of their professions and to plan strategies for altering that structure so that more women would be accepted into the hierarchy and scientific enquiry of special relevance to the problems of women would be promoted (McIntyre et al., forthcoming).

For instance, women need to be familiar with the by-laws of their professional societies; they need to know how to use or change those by-laws so that more women will be placed on the editorial boards of professional journals and in chairmanships of key committees. Only by acquiring positions of power can women rise in the scientific establishment and influence the choice of research topics to be investigated.

A basic step is to present solid evidence on male domination of professional hierarchies. Within each discipline, statistics should be developed on (1) the structure of the establishment, (2) the strength of the establishment orientation, and (3) the number of women in the professional association. In the case of those professional associations that sponsor journals, the articles published in the journal over the last three years should be identified in terms of the sex of their authors. Then, the committees within each association should be asked to provide information on male-female participation. The officers, councils, and graduate student membership of each association should be similarly analyzed. The associations should then be presented with these figures, and imbalances noted. For instance, in one scientific society, 8 percent of the articles published in the journal were written by women, but only one woman sat on the editorial board of thirty-five, and there were no women on committees. Research that presents such material plainly might help to shake up the association.

The present hierarchical pattern of most scientific disciplines discriminates not only against women but also against young men. Therefore, research that reveals this pattern might help to infuse new people and new ideas throughout the entire scientific establishment. It might also contribute to an understanding of the larger issues in the stratification of occupational hierarchies.

The legal-research arms of Women's Equity Action League and National Organization for Women are two instances of organizations trying to attack many of the issues considered in this report. But such efforts are mainly volunteer. And the efforts of federal agencies and private foundations have been piecemeal. Current independent efforts at data gathering by women's groups and collectives, by government agencies, and by foundations must be integrated and given financial support. If professional women can bring about reforms and alterations in the entire research establishment by the methods just described, the prospects for coordinated research and action on women's issues would be vastly improved.

APPENDIX

Resources: Research on Women's Issues

Keeping up with research on issues of concern to women is an arduous and complicated task not only because extensive work is being done in such traditional disciplines as anthropology, history, literature, medical science, psychology, and sociology but also because the women's movement is not unitary but comprises various subgroups with widely divergent interests and emphases. Thus, "keeping up" involves assessing the interrelationships between the expressed needs of women in the society and the research produced, both through outside funding and through independent initiative. There are various resources that can be drawn on, however, by anyone interested in getting an overview or in following particular issues.

Periodical Indexes

Many periodical indexes are useful in keeping up with research on women's issues. The indexes of particular journals—or the journals themselves—should be scanned regularly if one wants to keep informed about current developments on a given topic.

For a less systematic and more general overview, *Women's Studies Abstracts* is helpful. This journal, published quarterly, abstracts articles from a wide variety of periodicals and classifies them under the following major headings: education and socialization; sex roles, characteristics and differences; employment; sexuality; family; society and government; religion; mental and physical health; history, literature, and the arts; women's liberation movement. Each issue also contains a few articles and book reviews. One should probably not rely on this source exclusively, however, because of two major shortcomings: many major periodicals are not systematically abstracted; and there is a time lag between the publication of articles and the appearance of the abstract.

The following list gives some idea of the wide array of indexes and abstracts available for following research on women's issues:

Index Medicus
National Clearinghouse for Mental Health Information
Psychological Abstracts
Social Science and Humanities Index
Sociological Abstracts
Women's Studies Abstracts

Journals

Persons interested in following specific research issues are probably already familiar with the leading journals in their disciplines. Reference librarians can also provide valuable assistance.

The following periodicals, aimed at a sophisticated lay audience as well as professionals, regularly include articles and items on women's issues:

Human Behavior
Psychology Today
Society (formerly *Transaction*)

These journals have recently published research on women's concerns and are likely sources:

American Association of University Women Journal
American Behavioral Scientist
American Journal of Public Health
American Journal of Sociology
Feminist Studies
Journal of Counseling and Clinical Psychology
Journal of Health and Social Behavior
Journal of Marriage and the Family
Journal of Social Issues
Massachusetts Review
Monthly Labor Review
New England Journal of Medicine
Science
Scientific American
School Review
Sociological Inquiry
Sociology of Education

It is more difficult to specify the feminist publications most helpful as resources for keeping up with research on women's issues. The following periodicals are good sources of information:

Alert (1346 Connecticut Ave., NW, Room 1122, Washington, DC, 20036)
Breakthrough (222 Strong Hall, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045)
Comment (Radcliffe Institute, 3 James St., Cambridge, MA 02138)
The Executive Woman (747 Third Ave., New York, NY 10017)
The Furies, Lesbian/Feminist Monthly (Box 8843, S.E. Station, Washington, DC 20003)
Issues in Radical Therapy (IRT Collective, Box 23544, Oakland, CA 94623)
Media Report to Women (3306 Ross Place, NW, Washington, DC 20008)
Momma, The Newspaper for Single Mothers (Box 567, Venici, CA 90291)
Monthly Abstract (New Moon Communications, Box 3488 Ridgeway Station, Stamford, CT 06905)
MS (370 Lexington Ave., New York, NY 10017)
NOW, Monthly Newsletter of the National Organization for Women (Joan Nicholson, Editor, 46 East 91st St., New York, NY 10028)
Off Our Backs (1346 Connecticut Ave., NW Room 1013, Washington, DC 20036)
On Campus With Women (Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R St., NW, Washington, DC 20009)
Research Action Notes, published occasionally by Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education, National Foundation for the Improvement of Education (Suite 918, 1156 15th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036)
The Second Wave, a Magazine of the New Feminism (Box 344, Cambridge A, Cambridge, MA 02139)
The Spokeswoman (5464 South Shore Drive, Chicago, IL 60615)
Union W.A.G.E., Bimonthly Newsletter (2137 Oregon St., Berkeley, CA 94701)
Up From Under (399 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012)
WEAL Washington Report (Women's Equity Action League, 538 National Press Bldg., Washington, DC 20004)
Women: A Journal of Liberation (3028 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218)
Women Today (Today Publications and News Service, National Press Bldg., Washington, DC 20004)
Women's Studies Newsletter (Clearinghouse on Women's Studies, An Education Project of the Feminist Press, Box 334, Old Westbury, NY 11568)

Bibliographies

Many of the major works cited in the text contain extensive bibliographies. In addition, highly specialized bibliographies are now appearing. Margaret Eichler (University of Waterloo, Canada) has done an excellent guide, *An Annotated Selected Bibliography of Bibliographies on Women*, which describes over 40 bibliographies; it is available for $1.00 from the Publications Office, Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 151 Slater Street, Ottawa, K1P 5N1. Other valuable sources are Lucinda Cisler's *Women: A Bibliography, 1968, 1969, 1970*, Box 240, New York, NY 10024; and Marija Matich Hughes's *The Sexual Barrier: Legal and Economic Aspects of Employment*, Supplement No. 1 (1971), Supplement No. 2 (1972), 2116 F Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036. Among the most recent bibliographies are Astin et al. (1974), Bickner (1974), and Ruzek (1975).

Directories

Various professional associations have compiled rosters and directories of women in specific disciplines. In February 1974, a conference on rosters was held in Washington, DC, under the auspices of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. (For further information, contact Janet Brown, Director, Office of Opportunities in Science, Office of the AAAS, 1776 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036). In addition, an excellent sourcebook on women's organizations and leaders is available from Myra E. Barrer, editor, Today Publications and News Service, National Press Building, Washington, DC 20004.

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